# Journal

OF THE

# Chester and North Wales Archæological & Historic Society

New Series—Vol. XXV.

Printed and Published for the Society

By G. R. Griffith Limited, Bridge Street, Chester

1923

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South West Prospect of Chester.

By Pieter Tillemans.
(b. 1684. d. 1734.)

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# THE SIEGE OF CHESTER

1643—1646

BY THE LATE

CANON RUPERT H. MORRIS, D.D., F.S.A.,

Author of

*Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns,*

etc.

EDITED AND COMPLETED BY

P. H. LAWSON, A.R.I.B.A.

(Joint Hon. Secretary, Chester Archæological Society).

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# Preface.

THIS history of the Siege of Chester during the Civil War is published by the Chester and North Wales Archæological Society with the permission of the executors of the late Canon R. H. Morris, who have generously presented his manuscripts and notes to the Society's library. These include transcripts and abstracts from the manuscripts in the muniment room of the corporation of the city of Chester, and miscellaneous notes from documents and manuscripts in various repositories, material obviously collected for a second instalment of his history of Chester, a volume on the Stuart period. Apart from the present work, however, Canon Morris does not appear to have written anything intended as a continuation of his former volume on the Plantagenet and Tudor reigns.

The manuscript as left by Canon Morris covers the entire period of the siege and is, as far as it goes, complete with documentary transcripts and notes. It has been divided into chapters, the first six of which closely follow the manuscript. From the battle of Rowton Heath onward some liberties had to be taken and original research entailed in order to make the narrative more intelligible and complete. The labour thus involved has been entrusted to the capable hands of Mr. P. H. Lawson, who has placed the Society, the city of Chester, and indeed the whole

community, under the greatest possible obligation. That the author was not spared to undertake this revision and to see the fruits of his labour in the publication of his work must always remain a source of profound regret.

F. G. S.

. . . . . .

Grateful acknowledgment is made to all who have assisted in various ways, more particularly Sir Charles Firth, M.A., LL.D., of Oxford; Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A.; the officials of the Bodleian Library; Mr. W. E. Duckworth; Rev. S. P. Gray, Vicar of Farndon; Mr. Frank Simpson, F.S.A.; and Miss N. Davies, who has prepared the Index.

Thanks are also due to Mr. J. H. E. Bennett, F.S.A., who is mainly responsible for the interesting plan of contemporary Chester, drawn by Mr. J. E. Sunter, and to Major A. Spence Hodgson, R.A.R.O., who perambulated the line of the fortifications. And finally I would express my great obligation to the Rev. F. G. Slater, M.A., Honorary Editorial Secretary, who has read the proofs and given indefatigable assistance throughout.

P. H. Lawson.

*88, Foregate Street,*
*Chester.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the possession of the city of Chester, occupying as it did a strong strategic position on the western lines of communication of the country, pre-eminently as the port for Ireland, was considered of the utmost importance throughout the Civil War by Royalists and Parliamentarians alike, but scant attention has hitherto been given to the part it played in that struggle. In the main, historians have been content to record the fight at Rowton Heath which hastened the collapse of the King's cause, and to refer to the surrender of the city: singularly enough they have been silent upon the effect of the siege. Admittedly the decisive battles were fought elsewhere, and probably the attitude of Chester and North Wales never affected the ultimate issue. Yet the lack of information regarding local activities, of which there is such a mass of evidence available, inevitably suggests that the published histories of the period are by no means complete, and that much of the material presented in the following pages requires careful study before a true appreciation of the progress of the Civil War in these parts can be obtained.

Chester was ever a loyal city. In the city as in the county, there were many who held puritanical views, and as the breach between King and Parliament widened, the increasing exactions of the King severely tested the loyalty of his staunchest supporters within the walls, but the faith which the majority of the citizens reposed in their sovereign could not be destroyed. Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642, and a month later was received with great enthusiasm in the city. Avowed Parlia-

mentarians in a position to do so left with their families, and obtained such quarters as they could find in the country districts remaining firm for the Parliament; those able to bear arms augmented the Parliamentarian forces at Nantwich and elsewhere. Following upon the King's visit active preparations for defence were set on foot, and every artifice known to military science was adopted to protect the city and suburbs in case of attack. Towards the end of the year many country Royalists took up their residence in the city on account of the increasing strength of the Parliamentarians. Meanwhile, after the indecisive Battle of Edgehill, October 23, 1642, the King made Oxford his headquarters and confined his operations to the west of England. Notwithstanding the peace-parleys during the winter of 1642-3, Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary leader in Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire, continued his campaign, making substantial progress in those counties, in view of which the King appointed Sir Nicholas Byron governor of the city. Prince Rupert was urged to oppose Brereton in the spring of 1643, but was called away to the assistance of the King at Reading.

Brereton made his first assault upon the city, July 18, 1643, but was obliged to withdraw owing to insufficient strength. By the end of the first year of the war he held practically the whole of the county, and early in November advanced into Wales as far as Hawarden Castle, which he held until the return of the English army from Ireland, at the end of the month. To counteract the effect of the augmentation of the King's forces by the army from Ireland, Parliament inaugurated the Solemn League and Covenant, hoping to end the war by calling in the aid of a Scotch army. The " Irish " army was disastrously defeated at Nantwich early in 1644 by the combined forces of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir William Brereton. The Royal cause was now faring so badly here that the King sent his nephew Prince Rupert, northwards, with an army to relieve the situation, and so brought what may be regarded as the first stage of the city's participation in the war, to a close.

Sir John Byron, the commander of the Royalist forces in these parts, who had just been created Lord Byron by the King, and was destined to hold the city throughout one of the longest and closest blockades in this country, whilst the inhabitants suffered the greatest hardships of disease and starvation, was now Governor. Advantage was taken of the respite and the greater facilities afforded by the presence of the Prince's army, which was growing daily, to replenish the stores of provision and ammunition and further improve the fortifications. For some months nothing could stay the successful progress of the energetic Prince through the northern counties, but on July 2, 1644, he met with defeat at Marston Moor, and retired into the Welsh marches where he was again defeated on August 5th. By the end of the second year Lathom House, Liverpool, Chester, Beeston Castle, Hawarden Castle, Shrewsbury and High Ercall, with Shropshire south of the Severn, still held out for the King.

In December, 1644, Brereton began the leaguer, encircling the city with garrisons at a distance of four or five miles. Two months later he drew in his cordon and made his headquarters at Christleton, but was obliged to withdraw on the approach of Prince Maurice, during whose short stay, February 19th to March 13th, the city's defensive lines were drawn in, in consequence of the reduced number of the garrison. Brereton resumed the siege with greater vigour, but to the delight of the citizens withdrew again in May, 1645, upon receipt of intelligence of the King's march northwards to their relief. Charles abandoned this project, however, on account of the danger to Oxford, and a month later, June 14th, suffered defeat at Naseby. With this withdrawal, the second stage of the memorable siege was brought to a close. In September, 1645, the end of the third year of the war, in addition to Chester: Beeston, Hawarden, Lathom House and Liverpool still held firm for the King, Shrewsbury having been lost at the end of February.

During the summer of 1645 the pressure of the siege was relaxed, and the garrison enabled to prepare for a vigorous defence. The final stage began with the storming of the

eastern suburbs by Col. Michael Jones on September 20th, followed four days later by the rout of the Royalist horse at Rowton Heath. Montrose, with whose forces Charles had hoped to unite, had been defeated at Philiphaugh, September 13th, and the King's position was now hopeless. Despite the rigours of heavy bombardment and a close investment the garrison held out with grim determination for no less than nineteen weeks, and it was not until all hope of relief was finally abandoned and the besieged were faced with starvation, that Lord Byron surrendered upon honourable conditions. Liverpool and Beeston Castle had surrendered in November, Lathom House early in December, Hawarden and High Ercall followed in March, and Bridgenorth and Ludlow in April and May, 1646, respectively. Oxford surrendered on June 24, 1646, and the war was over. The struggle lasted a few weeks longer at Lichfield and Worcester, and for some months in remote places in Wales, Harlech Castle being the last to capitulate on March 13, 1647.

During the short lived second Civil War a plot was hatched to seize the city and castle for the King, but being betrayed the ringleaders were arrested and shot in the corn market.

Sir William Brereton, the commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire, was undoubtedly the outstanding personality of the Siege. The descendant of a knightly family long resident at Brereton and Malpas Hall, and owner of the manor of Handforth in Cheshire, Brereton imbibed puritanical teachings from his youth upwards, many of his kinsmen and neighbours being prominent Nonconformists. Far from being lethargic or morose in temperament, however, he was an enthusiastic follower of all manly exercises and country pursuits. He matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1621, at the age of eighteen, and was admitted a student of Gray's Inn in 1623. In 1627 he was created a baronet by Charles I, and about this time married Susannah, daughter of Sir George Booth, knight, of Dunham Massey, a leading Presbyterian. She died in 1637. In 1634 and 1635

he travelled widely in Great Britain, Holland and the United Provinces, where in all probability he gained the rudiments of that military knowledge which was to stand him in good stead in later years. He was one of the representatives of Cheshire in the parliaments of 1628, 1640 and 1640-53, and was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of the county shortly before the outbreak of hostilities. Early in June, 1642, he undertook to provide four horses and £100 in ready money or plate for the defence of the Parliament, and in August he came to Nantwich from London with a troop of horse and a regiment of dragoons to set up the Militia. He was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief in this locality. His operations were not confined to Cheshire, however, but extended over all the adjoining counties, and although he was not engaged in the outstanding battles of the war, the part he played was no less injurious to the Royal cause. In the early part of the struggle it was with the utmost difficulty that he held his own, but from the summer of 1643 onwards he gradually became master of the situation, though continually hampered by shortage of money, provisions and troops. The country people were particularly devoted to him and kept him supplied with intelligence which he was able to turn to advantage. It was his singular fate to be ranged against one closely allied to him, for Lord Byron's brother and successor in the title, Sir Richard Byron, had married a sister of Lady Brereton. Brereton inherited, as part of his patrimony, a house on the site of the dissolved nunnery of St. Mary's in Chester, which he contended was free from tolls and murage and the imposition of ship-money, and he was so embittered by the opposition with which his claims were met by the civic authorities that the severity with which he pressed the siege has been regarded as an act of vengeance. However that may be it is certainly remarkable that towards the end, when he had the city in his grip he found time amongst his multifarious duties to write to a legal friend for advice on this vexed question. His house had been plundered and burnt by the enraged citizens early in the siege, in retaliation

for which Parliament ordered him to satisfy his losses out of the estates of Royalists in the county.

At the close of hostilities the chief forestership of Macclesfield and the seneschalship of that hundred was conferred upon him by Parliament, together with large allowances from the personal estates of delinquents. Although one of the commissioners on the trial of the King, he did not act. He died on the 7th of April, 1661, at the archiepiscopal palace of Croydon, of which he received a grant after the death of Archbishop Laud, and was buried at Cheadle, tradition asserting that his coffin was swept away by a flood. Brereton was twice married, and left issue by both his wives.[1]

Three of the five folio volumes of Brereton's letters, formerly in the possession of Dr. Foote Gower, are now preserved among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, and have been freely used in this account of the siege.

There is a very rude portrait purporting to be one of Brereton in Ricrafts' *England's Champions*. The one here reproduced, from a drawing by Robert Cooper, is in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian Library.

Colonel Sir John Byron, first Lord Byron, the gallant defender of Chester and determined opponent of Brereton, was the eldest son of Sir John Byron, K.B., of Newstead, co. Nottingham, the representative of a long established north country family. He sat as member for the borough and county of Nottingham successively, was created a K.B. at the coronation of Charles I, and filled the office of High Sheriff for his county. In common with many of the leaders of the time his military experience and reputation was acquired in the Low Countries and in the expedition against the Scots. In 1641 he was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London and in 1642 joined the King at York. After the battle of Edgehill, where he was present with his own regiment, he participated in the honours which were showered on the Royalist leaders, being created D.C.L. at

[1] Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Oxford, a degree that was also conferred upon his uncle, Sir Nicholas Byron, commander of foot, who had likewise been engaged in the wars of the Low Countries and at Edgehill. On this occasion the degree of M.A. *honoris causa* was conferred upon Sir John Byron's brother and successor Sir Richard Byron, who had only been knighted a few weeks previously at Shrewsbury. During the following winter, spring and summer Byron witnessed the Royalist triumphs in the west country and was in command of the horse of the right wing at the Battle of Newbury, September, 1643. On October 24th the King created him Baron Byron of Rochdale, a title that has never been officially recognized, and shortly afterwards he was appointed Field Marshal of the forces in the counties of Worcester, Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales under Lord Capel, the Lieutenant General. Early in January he succeeded his uncle, Sir Nicholas Byron, as Governor of Chester, and save for a short period in 1644 when Col. William Legge was in command and he was with Rupert at Marston Moor, he worthily maintained that important trust to the end of the siege, stubbornly refusing to surrender until the last hope of relief had vanished and the city was faced with starvation. He retired to Carnarvon Castle, of which he was Governor, until May, 1646, and later joined the Queen in Paris, where he was appointed Comptroller General of the household of the Duke of York. During the rising of 1648 he attempted to raise North Wales for the King. He was twice married, but died childless in Paris in August, 1652. The portrait reproduced is from an etching by P. Paul at the Bodleian.[2]

Orlando Bridgman, eldest son of the Bishop of Chester, Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Vice-Chamberlain of Chester and M.P. for Wigan, was by far the most influential Royalist in the city, his fine for delinquency being fixed at £865 5s. 9d. He was created a baronet at the Restoration, became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and died in 1674. From him descend the Earls of Bradford.

[2] Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

Chester was represented in the Short Parliament of 1640 by Robert Brerewood the Recorder, and Sir Thomas Smith, knight, of Chester and Hough, the latter being re-elected together with Francis Gamull of Chester to the succeeding parliament, afterwards know as the Long Parliament. They were superseded in 1646 by Alderman William Edwards and John Ratcliffe son of the alderman of that name.

Brerewood, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were Cestrians, was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple in 1615; appointed justice of North Wales in 1637; Recorder of the city in succession to Edward Whitby, 1639; Serjeant-at-Law 1640; King's Serjeant, 1641; was knighted at Oxford in 1643 and raised to the King's Bench later in the same year. His fine was fixed at £387 10s. He died in 1654, and was buried in St. Mary's, Chester.[3]

Sir Thomas Smith, who was mayor in 1622, and sheriff of the county in 1623, came of a family of merchants, noted for their benefactions, who had acquired extensive estates in the county by purchase. He resided at his house in St. Martin's parish during the siege. Both he and his son of the same name, later created a baronet by Charles II, were heavily fined by the Parliament.

Sir Francis Gamull, colonel of the city trainband, son of Thomas Gamull the Recorder (M.P. 1601, died 1613), and representative of a family long established in the county, was mayor in 1634, and was one of the foremost supporters of the King in the city. He resided in Lower Bridge Street, where he entertained King Charles on the occasion of the defeat at Rowton Heath. He is reputed to have been created a baronet some time prior to the death in 1644 of his son Captain Thomas Gamull, and at his death in 1654, when he was buried in the family vault at St. Mary's, Chester, he left four surviving daughters and co-heiresses, all of whom married prominent Royalists. On account of his loyalty he was deprived of his life interest in Buerton Hall and lands, and removed from the various offices he held in the city.[4] He

[3] Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[4] *Cheshire Sheaf*, II, 274.

is depicted in the centre compartment of the stained glass window in Farndon Church.

John Werden, of Foregate Street, esquire, Attorney-at-law, died 1646, and his son Col. Robert Werden compounded in the sum of £600. They came of a wealthy family of brewers, and acquired Burton Hall and lands by purchase. John Werden was one of the city commissioners who negotiated the terms of surrender. Col. Werden was taken prisoner at Christleton, January 18, 1644-5, and afterwards released. He was declared a traitor by the Parliament and a price set on his head, whereupon he joined the King in exile, and did not return until the Restoration. He was Major-General of the Horse under James II, and died in 1690. From him descended the Werden baronets and the Beauclerks, third and fourth Dukes of St. Albans.

Each of the successive mayors during the hostilities used every endeavour to advance the Royal cause.

Alderman Thomas Cowper, of Bridge Street, ironmonger, sheriff 1630, mayor 1641-2, was offered a knighthood, which he refused, on the occasion of the King's visit in September, 1642. He was then granted a coat of arms, the charges on which were taken from the arms of the first two Norman earls. He died in 1671, aged 76, and was buried at St. Peter's, where a tablet is inscribed to his memory. His portrait in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall has been reproduced in the second volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*. It is interesting to note that he is represented wearing the Carolus medallion and a death's head ring, the favourite Cavalier memorial of the martyr-king. He was succeeded in the mayoralty by his brother-in-law, Alderman William Ince, merchant, of Watergate Street, who represented the city in the Parliament of 1662. Alderman Ince's death in 1678 is recorded in an inscription at Holy Trinity. Randle Holme, the second of the four arms painters, heralds and antiquaries of the same name, lived in Castle Lane. He was sheriff in 1633, in which year his father was mayor, and succeeded Ince as mayor in 1643. He died in

1649, aged 59 years, and was buried at St. Mary's. A handsome mural monument, erected by his son Randle Holme the third, is still in existence. His father, who died in 1645 at the age of 84, was fined £160 for his delinquency.[5]

Charles Walley, innkeeper, the Mayor during the last year of the siege, had previously been mayor in 1630, when the Duchess of Tremouille, mother-in-law to Lord Strange, was entertained in the city. He owned the Red Lion Inn in Foregate Street and resided at his house adjoining The Bars, where Brereton found the sword and mace and established himself after the battle of Rowton Heath. He was one of the six city commissioners who refused to sign the Articles of Surrender, the others being Gamull, Cowper, Brerewood, Edward Morgell and Robert Harvey. Although an active Royalist, and fined £537, at a sixth, he succeeded in trimming his sails to the wind, obtained employment under the Parliament, being agent at Chester and Liverpool for the billeting and transporting of soldiers to Ireland, and was returned as Member for the city in 1654. He states in his Petition, amongst the Royalist Composition Papers, that he had acted very little against the Parliament and had been termed a traitor by Lord Byron. Brereton had received £35 from his wife, corn to the value of £760, twenty horses worth £100, five cows worth £24 and three silver basins worth £55. Many of his goods were either burnt, carried away or lost by the soldiers. Walley purchased Saighton Hall and demesne, after their sequestration from the Calveley family. He died in 1663.[6]

Of the remaining dissentients from the Treaty, Edward Morgell, Deputy Registrar of the Consistory Court, Commissioner to administer the Oath of Supremacy to the soldiers passing through to Ireland, 1642, who died in 1659, was fined £100. His cousin, Lieut. Edward Morgell, was killed upon his guard near the Newgate, November 7, 1645.

[5] For a detailed account of the Holme family see the *Chester Arch. Journal*, N.S., Vol. IV.

[6] *Cheshire Sheaf*, II, 282.

Alderman Robert Harvey, mayor 1639, the founder of the Almshouses in Clayton Lane, 1662, died in 1669 and was buried at St. Olave's.

Alderman Thomas Throppe, of St. Michael's parish, merchant, mayor 1637 and 1661, a brother-in-law of Alderman Cowper and Alderman Ince, was commissioned as sergeant-major of the forces in the city. His father before him had been sergeant of the keys. Throppe was one of those to whom Lord Byron's warrant was addressed for ascertaining the amount of provisions in the city three weeks before the surrender, a summary of which is given in Appendix II. This should be referred to for further particulars of residents and officers in command. It is stated in his Composition Papers that the chamber of premises of his in St. Peter's parish had been " torn by a granado," that he was a prisoner in the Castle from March 16 to July 2, 1646, and that he refused to leave, having many children and no means of subsistence elsewhere. His fine at a moiety, £443, was reduced to £177 10s. His will was proved at Chester in 1669.[7]

Alderman Richard Broster, sheriff 1631, mayor 1662, held a certificate from many of the best citizens testifying that he lost £2,500 personal estate when the suburbs were taken, and that he lost several fine inns and houses in the suburbs by fire, in addition to the water works which were of great benefit to him. Fine at a sixth £170.[8]

Ormerod also gives the following Chester Royalists with the amount of their fines[9] :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Daniel Bavand, gent. | 90 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Berrington, of Castle Lane, gent., attorney in the Exchequer[10] | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Brocke, of Upton | | | |
| William Gamull, gent. | 225 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Russell, gent. | 310 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Weston, sen., sheriff 1637, buried at St. Mary's, 1646 | 190 | 0 | 0 |

[7] *Ibid.*, (3rd Series), I, 7.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 12.

[9] Vol. I, page lxiii.

[10] The Berringtons of Cheshire, *Chester Arch. Journal*, N.S., XIX.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Wilson, gent. - - - - - - - - - | 142 | 10 | 0 |
| [whose leasehold property had been defaced, spoiled and pulled down by the soldiers, £285][11] | | | |
| Richard Wilson, gent. - - - - - - - - | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Bailow - - - - - - - - - - | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| William Sparke, ald., mayor 1632 - - - - | 59 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Bridge, rector of Malpas and vicar of St. John's, Chester, one of the City Commissioners, died 1682 - - - - - - - - - | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas and Edward Pershall (? Capt. Edmund Pearsall) - - - - - - - - - | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Lord Cholmondeley, who was in Chester during the siege - - - - - - - - - | 7742 | 0 | 0 |
| John, Earl Rivers - - - - - - - - - | 1110 | 0 | 0 |

It is probable that the Berrington represented as an ensign and standard bearer in the third compartment from the left in the bottom row of the stained glass window in the Barnston chancel at Farndon church, here illustrated, is the before named attorney. The figures with armorial bearings on the top row from left to right, represent Richard Grosvenor, esq. (afterwards the second baronet), who raised the *posse comitatus* of Cheshire in 1644; Sir William Mainwaring of Peover, knight, slain at the siege October 9, 1644, and buried in the cathedral, where there is a large monument to his memory; and William Barnston of Churton, esq., who died in 1664.

The leading Parliamentarians in the city at the outbreak of the war, though fewer in numbers and influence than the Royalists, were no less determined. The well-known Puritan family long established at Bruen Stapleford, near by, was represented at this time by John Bruen, esquire, who died in 1647. His son Jonathan Bruen was one of Brereton's commissioners in the negotiations leading to the capitulation of the city. Calvin Bruen—note the christian name—a mercer of Chester, sheriff in 1635, a younger brother of John Bruen, was implicated together with Peter Ince, stationer, for befriending Prynne on his way through Chester to Carnarvon Castle. He was elected an alderman in 1646. Alderman William Edwards, merchant and ironmonger, the

[11] *Cheshire Sheaf* (3rd Series), I, 116.

*Cyril H. Lodge, Photo.*

Stained Glass Window in the Barnston Chancel
at Farndon Church,
depicting prominent local Royalists, Men-at-Arms and Military Trophies,
(See pages 9 and 12.)

friend of Brereton and most active supporter of his party in the city, was a younger brother of Evan Edwards, of Rhual, Mold, Baron of the Exchequer in Chester and son of Thomas Edwards of Rhual, his predecessor in that office.[12] Edwards was sheriff in 1627, and twice mayor of the city: in 1636 and again in 1646 on the removal of the Royalists from office, when he was returned burgess for Chester together with John Ratcliffe, esquire, son of Alderman John Ratcliffe, the Member in 1620 and 1627, and mayor in 1628. Ratcliffe succeeded Brerewood as Recorder until 1651, was re-appointed on the death of Richard Haworth in 1656, but deprived in 1662 for refusing to take the oath enjoined by Act of Parliament. He sat again as Member for the city from 1660 to 1662. That he faithfully performed the duties of his office is evinced by the fact that a presentation was made to him in 1666 " for his great care and pains about the public good of this city," and after his death in 1672 a sum of money was voted towards meeting the expenses he had incurred.[13]

Alderman Thomas Aldersey, merchant, mayor 1640, and Alderman Richard Leicester, mercer, sheriff 1628, mayor 1650, were also prominent Parliamentarians, the former being named with Brereton and Edwards in the King's warrant of September, 1642, as a householder whose premises were to be searched for arms and ammunition.

Some reference should here be made to Brereton's commanders, Jones and Duckenfield. Col. Michael Jones left his studies at Lincoln's Inn for a more adventurous life with the army in Ireland. On the return of his regiment to England in 1644 he entered the service of the Parliament, probably more from a conviction of the justice of the cause rather than disaffection, and at once distinguished himself as a cavalry leader. He was engaged under Brereton until his return to Ireland in 1647, when he was appointed Governor of Dublin by the Parliament. So great were his successes that within two years he rose to the sole command

[12] Peniarth MS., 288, fol. 215.

[13] *Cheshire Sheaf*, II, 274.

until the arrival of Cromwell, when he was appointed Lieut.-General of the forces. He died in December, 1649.[14]

Col. Robert Duckenfield, of Duckenfield, in Cheshire, joined Brereton on the outbreak of hostilities, and remained with him throughout the war, proving himself an able leader. He was High Sheriff of the county in 1649, and Member in 1653. In 1650 he was appointed Governor of Chester, and secured the Isle of Man in the following year. He helped to suppress the Booth rising in 1659, and spent the remainder of his days quietly at home. He died in 1689, at the age of 70.

Frequent mention is made of the Welsh soldiers at Chester. They were led by Col. Roger Mostyn and Col. Hugh Wynn. The former resided at Mostyn in Flintshire, and raised and equipped a body of men for the King's service. He was created a baronet in 1660, was appointed *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of Carnarvon in 1674, and died about the year 1690. Lord Mostyn is a descendant by the distaff. Col. Hugh Wynn, of Bodysgallen and Berthddu, co. Carnarvon, represented that branch of the Gwydir family. He died in 1674 and is also represented by Lord Mostyn. It is highly probable that Capt. William Morgan, of Golden Grove in Flintshire, and his son, Edward Morgan, were in Chester during the siege—and that one or other of them was at one time in charge of the gun mount bearing their name. The son was slain at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich, August 19, 1659.

In connection with the city's fortifications there can be little doubt that the mount to the right of Bache Lane took its name from Dr. Edward Wolley, of Shrewsbury, the Cavalier chaplain and combatant, whose fortunes and energies were devoted to the Royal cause. He was at the battle of Edgehill, after which he came to Chester, and was later with the King at Oxford and on the Continent. Two of his houses were plundered and sequestrated. He became Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, and died in 1684.[15]

[14] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[15] *Cheshire Sheaf*, II, 391, 394.

With the Great Rebellion the feudal system of raising armies in this country disappeared, and after the Restoration the standing army gradually came into being. When it became clear that force would have to be resorted to, the trainbands were called out, the King issued his Commissions of Array and Parliament ordered the Deputy Lieutenants to enlist men under their respective banners. At the outset the Royalists appear to have favoured Dutch methods of warfare, but Swedish principles came to be universally adopted. The forces in the field comprised Horse, Foot, and Artillery Trains. The Horse were organised in Troops of 100 or 120; each troop having one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Cornet, three Corporals and two Trumpets. Dragooners were mounted infantry. They rode in march, but fought on foot. A troop was 132 strong, which allowed one horseholder to each eleven horses and therefore left 120 fighting men. The Foot consisted of companies of musketeers, with pikemen, grenadiers, fusiliers, etc. The Artillery ordnance ranged from small mortars, three to twelve pounders, the latter considered the heaviest mobile field pieces, to 12in. and even larger mortars, but there was no definite separation between field and siege ordnance, the need for siege guns not being great. Chester, however, was an exception and we read of siege guns being brought from Warrington and Shrewsbury to assist in its reduction. Transport and drivers were usually hired civilians. The chief difficulties lay in the scarcity of ammunition. At Chester, the gunners often had to resort to large and heavy stones. Strong as they were, the walls were badly battered and breached by the besiegers, and the timber built dwellings within suffered considerably. Contemporary reports state that hardly a single house in Watergate Street and Eastgate Street, two main thoroughfares, escaped damage. Despite the great developments which have taken place in modern warfare, it is remarkable that the military operations of the seventeenth century differ so little from those of our own time.

For an account of the manner in which the armies of the King and the Parliament were raised, and the organisation of the different arms, see *Cromwell's Army* (3rd edition, 1921), by Sir C. H. Firth, M.A., LL.D.

## CHAPTER I.

### Local Disaffection. The King in Chester. Defensive Measures.

FULLY to understand the position of affairs at Chester, and the feeling of the inhabitants of that loyal city at the beginning of the Civil War, we must go back a few years before the actual breach between King Charles and his Parliament. The citizens of Chester had borne themselves well under the attempts which King James made to supply his increasing need for money by claims upon customs, monopolies, and " benevolences." They had responded with fair willingness to the demand for shipmoney, but there was a small though active body of Puritans who were not well-affected to the King and Episcopacy. One of their leaders in Chester was Calvin Bruen, son of John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford. A member of the City Council in 1629, he was elected one of the sheriffs in 1635, and in 1637 met Prynne on his journey to prison in Carnarvon Castle, and escorted him to Chester, for which Bruen and his associates had to do penance in December of that year [A.O. 426].

Another prominent supporter of Parliamentarian views was the Reverend John Lea (Ley), Vicar of Great Budworth, Prebendary of Chester Cathedral, and afternoon preacher at S. Peter's. At first a favourite of Bishop Bridgeman's, he ultimately became " a great thorn in the Bishop's side," was one of the Assembly of Divines, and a promoter of the Solemn League [S.P. Dom., February, 1632].

These men, with Peter Ince, William Edwards, Sir Wm. Brereton and others were, doubtless, busy in propagating their anti-state opinions.

The Magistrates of Chester complain to Lords of Privy Council, Dec. 1636, that Sir William Brereton protected his tenant in his disobedience to the King's proclamation, by refusing to contribute to the public watches and refused to

pay his assessment for the late Shipp money (tho' rated very low). Therefore others who had promised payment refused until cause was taken with him. Sir William being no freeman of Chester sends two sacks of Oats to sell in the corn-market there—from which Bennet and his wife (being the City officer) took 2 quarts as a toll.

Reply: They grew in a close, "Le Geoffreys Halkes," formerly belonging to Nuns, and therefore free of toll [Harl. 2093].

The first indication of trouble to be found in the City Records is an Assembly Order of September 18, 1640 [A.O. 512], directing the Eastgate and Bridgegate to be repaired forthwith, a new door to be made for the Newgate, and ordering that "the present Watch should be continued in the night time." Hitherto this "Watch" had been called into active being as a precaution against a visitation of the Plague. At the same Assembly, Stephen Owen, a cutler, petitions for freedom, so that he might be enabled to supply arms and other commodities to the citizens [A.O. 511].

In the following month the civic authorities became fully awake to their unpreparedness in the "warlike and dangerous times" with which the country was distressed, and immediate steps were taken to remedy "the great want of Armes" within the city. At the Assembly held October 15, 1640, the Mayor and his brethren undertook to provide a certain number of corsletts, musketts, calivers and halberds, and it was ordered that all the inhabitants not already charged with this provision should "find armes for the better safeguard of themselves and the Citty, and appear before the Mayor and his brethren the next week on given notice." The number of the trainbands was to be "made up with all convenient speede," the arms required were to be provided within one month, and the Magazine money formerly assessed upon the inhabitants was to be used in purchasing shot and powder for the good defence of the city. The Treasurers were also directed to bring up at the charge of the city from Wirral "any ordinances and carriages with other necessaryes belonging unto them." Mr.

Francis Gamull, mayor in 1634, was requested to "take upon him to be Captayne of the Traynebands" with "free liberty to make choyce of his own officers, except that Captain Dutton's yearly pay was to be continued to him." This arrangement was acceded to by Mr. Gamull [A.O., 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518]. These trainbands were, at the time, not a large body, hardly exceeding 100 in number. They were provided with armour, muskets, calivers and halberds at the cost of the wealthier citizens. It would appear that in 1613 they included one carpenter, three maltsters, seven tanners, seven bakers, six hatmakers, six butchers, three drapers, thirteen shoemakers, five glovers, seven tailors [A.O. 325]. Wm. Maxey and Jacob Lingley were appointed respectively Lieutenant and Ensign in 1639, an allowance being granted of £5 and 50/- [A.O. 465]. This same allowance was continued in 1665, the Captain receiving £10 yearly [A.O. 1139]. The Treasurer's Accounts for 1638-9 contain the items

Paid Mr. Crosse for powder and match used to the Citye's trained souldiers ... ... ... xxx$^{s}$ x$^{d}$

A quart of sack and cakes in the Pentice when Mr. Maior and Sir Thomas Smith came from viewinge of the Citty souldiers ... ... ... j$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$

These arrangements and orders show the most admirable promptitude and activity on the part of the Mayor, Mr. Robert Harvey, and his brethren. Troublous and dangerous times had, indeed, come to them. The proclamations which reached the Mayor at this crisis for publication: (a) ordering the lords and others in the North to go to their own houses; and (b) directing the disarming of recusants [Treas. Accounts 1639-40]; warned the citizens that stern measures were being taken to check disloyalty. The "Short Parliament" to which Chester had sent up as its representatives Sir Thomas Smith, K$^{t}$, and Mr. Robert Brerewood, had met April 3, 1640, only to be dissolved on May 5th, after a session of three weeks. On November 3rd in the same year a Parliament was called together, in which Sir Thomas Smith and Mr. Francis Gamull were superseded December 14,

1646, by Mr. William Edwards and Mr. John Ratcliffe. This became noted as " The Long Parliament," which was so busy in its virulent opposition to the King, the Royalist party, and the Bishops; impeaching Strafford, recalling Prynne from his prison, sending out Commissioners into every county to deface " images, altars, and all monuments and reliques of idolatry." The Murengers, to whose province belonged the care of the city walls, reported to the Council at their Assembly on June 1, 1641, that the walls were in many places very ruinous, some part fallen down, and the remaining part " reddy to fall into further decaye unless it bee speedilie prevented." It was ordered that the work of reparation should be proceeded with at once, and the cost defrayed by " a generall taxation assessed upon the whole city " [A.O. 527].

The Irish rising of October, 1641, and the secret machinations of the Royalists, found an echo in Chester in the attempted conspiracy of Lord Cholmondeley, described in the following Tract :—

1641. London. Printed for John Greensmith.

A Bloody Conspiracy of the Papists in Cheshire, intended for the destruction of the whole Country.

There was an order made by the High Court of Parliament, that all Papists throughout England should be disarmed, which command the primate Officers in Cheshire went about to obey, but the Papists there were so resolute that they told them plainely they would not be disarmed, which answer being carryed to the Major of the City, he very wisely commanded the Trayned Bands to goe search, each one charging his Musket with a Bullet, and those Papists which would not yeeld to have their houses searched, presently to shoot downe their house about their eares, which was to be done the next day being the 20 day of November 1641, which the Papists having intelligence of, gathered themselves together to my Lord Chomes his house, the chief Leader was one Mr. Henry Starkey, and in the night time some of them having Armor on, the watch heard them to make a very great noise without the City gates, and going, to see what might be the cause thereof, they discovered fifteene in Armes, battering down the City Walles, at which the watch were very much amazed, and being for the most part old men, to goe to resist them they were fearefull, but went into the City gate againe and cryed

out Treason, Treason, against the City, upon which the Citizens presently did arise, the Trayned Bands presently were in readinesse, but thirteene of the Traytors escaped away, but two of them were taken, who confesse that the others were runne to the Lord Chomes his house, who were presently pursued thither, and taken at the Lord Chomes his house gate, for the Porter thereof and the guard thinking them to be some of the Trayne Band would not suffer them to enter in thither, away they were carryed to prison, a strong Guard being left at the Lord Chomes his house, that none of the Papists might issue out there.

So soone as those fifteene were layd fast, the Trayne Bands came to the aforesayd Lord Chomes his house, and commanded the doore to be opened, but they were denyed to have any entrance.

Then ten of the Trayne Band discharged their Muskets and battered downe part of the house, at which the aforesaid Lord made an escape by a posterne doore which opens into the fields, the Trayne Band most of them went into the house and searched it, wherein they were like all to have beene slaine, for comming onto a private Wood-house there stood fifty Papists with Muskets ready charged, and so soon as they saw the Trayne Band they discharged altogether, and slew twenty-five of the Protestants, and retreated back and runne out of a back doore which led into the Wood-house, but being met by the rest of the Trayne Band which were without, betweene whom grew a bloody skirmish, but at length the Papists trusted to the swiftnesse of their feet, but the bullets made great hast after them, and slew nineteene of them, Starky their leader was wounded in the thigh which forced him to yeeld, and was presently committed to prison. A great uproare there was in the City, & much lamentation of both sides for the losse of their husbands which were trayterously slaine in the aforesaid Wood-house, all being still the aforesaid Starkey the Leader of the Rebels was examined being ready to depart the world by reason of the multitude of his wounds. Who confessed what their intentes were, being urged thereunto by the Lord Chomes to have beate downe privatly the greatest part of the City walles, and before they could be possibly builded againe the Papists in Lancashire and Cheshire should have an advantage to use the Protestants as they pleas'd themselves, which would have been welcome Newes to the Rebels in Ireland, much more he did not confesse but dyed, and he together with the other nineteene Rebels which were slaine, running away, were buried in the high-way together, but the Protestants in severall Churches; those Rebels which were taken awaite the Parliaments pleasure for their judgement, which will be very speedily [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts, I*].

The Treasurer's Accounts for this year, 1641, record payments to

Thomas Malbone, Smith, for the Irons in the inward Pentice to hould the musketts ... xxij$^{s}$ ix$^{d}$
For a proclamation for Comand of obedience from the souldiers to his Ma$^{ties}$ chiefe commanders... ij$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$
Mending the stock of a muskett belonging to the Cittie, and fitting it with other necessaries ... xviij$^{d}$

These items are interspersed with the details of expenditure on the Shrovetide festivity, the Midsummer Show, making the giants, mending the city drum, and gifts of sugar loaves to the Judges, showing that the citizens did not allow the serious condition of affairs to interrupt the ordinary course of business or of pleasure. The records of the Council meetings for 1640-1 deal with grants of leases and aid to tradesmen out of the city charities, the admission of freemen and disputes between the companies and traders intermeddling. It is to be noted, however, that the attendance of members of the Council was often lax, and orders were more than once made for fining absentees [A.O. 529].

The breach between King and Parliament meanwhile was rapidly widening. The King had attempted to seize the five members on January 4, 1641-2, and in the following month issued Commissions of Array in the several counties. This was met by a proclamation, May 28, 1642, to suppress the raising of troops by any warrant, commission, or order, from His Majesty, without the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament. After the King's demand to surrender on Hull, which was held by Sir John Hotham for the Parliament, the two Houses began their preparations for war, while nominally they maintained their allegiance to the King, and on July 12, 1642, ordered that an army should be raised " for the defence of the King and the Parliament," with the Earl of Essex as Captain-General.

We find Sir William Brereton writing July 27, 1642, to Oliver Cromwell, complaining

That the Commissioners of Array proceed with great violence, summoning by warrants, and committing to prison.

Thomas Bennet, Constable of Williston, refused to obey summons. Had sack at Sun tavern in Chester and is then committed to Castle, for opposing executive of Commissioners of Array. Warrant from Hugh Calveley, High Sheriff of Cheshire [Portland MSS., 45.]

On July 30, 1642, he reports to the Speaker, Wm. Lenthall :—

So soon as we were assisted by the addition of some other Deputy Lieutenants to join in the other Hundreds, we proceeded to assemble the Hundred of Northwich upon Tuesday last at Northwich—a full appearance about 320 musketeers and four score pikemen well armed and near 600 other volunteers who though they brought not arms so complete yet I believe their heads as well affected as the others to the safety and peace of the King and Parliament. Though the number was not so great as in the former Hundreds, which were much larger and more populous than this, wherein divers of the Trained Bands and some others charged with arms absented themselves by reason of their relation to the Commissioners of Array, yet the number of those that were completely armed was double to those that are ordinarily charged with arms, besides the other 600 volunteers so as you may be confirmed in the assurance of the good affection of many in this county if they receive encouragement and protection, and many more I am confident would discover themselves if they were not enawed by their remoteness from your assistance and exposed to more than ordinary peril in regard to the disaffected in Wales, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and some other neighbouring counties [Portland MSS., 46].

Meanwhile the city and county had been much disturbed by the behaviour of the troops on their way to Ireland. As often had been the case, they were delayed for days and weeks by bad weather. The soldiers had not money to pay their way, and often resorted to violence and pillage, and were in their turn seized and hardly treated by the civil authorities. The officers in command complain that the mayor and county are so perverse that they will not trust the soldiers; the Mayor of Chester, though he knows the Captains are exceeding careful to pay, yet commands the town to trust no soldier beyond one meal.

" Some of my soldiers," writes Captain Thomas Sandford, March 5, 1641-2, " for entreating billet were

Sir William Brereton, Bt.

From an engraving, after a drawing by Robert Cooper, in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

threatened, others sent to the gaol with much abuse and sufferance. Above 50 of my men want quarters, and abundance are lodged among extreme poverty and infection of the Pox, and many are so cruel that they thrust my men out of doors to perish in the streets. Money is wanting and none will credit or deliver a pint of beer or a penny loaf to a soldier without payment for the same. I endeavour to suppress disorder amongst my distressed men and their cruel landlords " [Portland MSS. 33].

The first overt act of rebellion in Chester took place when Brereton came by authority of Parliament to set up the Militia. On Monday, August 8, 1642, " a great tumult was caused by a drum beaten up by the direction of Sir William Brereton, Alderman William Edwards and others of the puritanicall (but rebellious) faction who garded the drum with halberds."[16] This tumult was at once quelled by the Mayor. He is said in one account to have seized one of the Parliamentarians by the collar, and delivered him to the constables, and then to have run his sword through the drum and cut it to pieces. The Common Bell was rung, rousing the loyal citizens, who appeared with their halberds and headpieces, disarmed the Parliamentarian party, and brought them before the Mayor. Some of them were committed to prison, but Sir Wm. Brereton, with a strange want of foresight, or perhaps through some timidity in dealing with a powerful opponent, was allowed to leave the city without further hindrance. It is suggested that resentment at his defeat on this occasion, following upon bitter annoyance at being assessed for " shipmoney " on his property in Chester, the lands of St. Mary's Nunnery (which he claimed to be free of all imposts), made Brereton so relentless an enemy to Chester and its loyal citizens.

Sir Wm. Brereton, writing on August 13, 1642, to Ralph Ashton, makes his comment on this attempt at Chester :—

[16] Contemporary account of the Siege contained in Harl. MS. 2155, which is to be taken as the authority when other references are not given. It is printed *in extenso* as Appendix I.

As the Mayor and citizens of Chester knew not how to prevent us but by raising a tumult, so it was also in the County, for when we had summoned an appearance for Nantwich Hundred upon Friday last, the Commissioners of Array being anxious to themselves of their own weakness to make any opposition in that Hundred sent out warrants for all their forces in the whole county. And the Sheriff extended his authority for the raising of the *Posse Comitatus* to suppress the rebellious assembly—so he stiled that which was appointed by us—not containing themselves in this county, but brought forces out of Wales, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and other parts. Wants a troop of Horse badly and power to commit to common gaols—and an order printed, commanding that no obedience be given to the Commers of Array [Portland MSS., 51].

Moreover, very early in July the citizens had declared against the Array, on the ground that " as God and the fundamental laws of this Kingdom have joined his Majesty and the Parliament together," so they could " not agree to a disjointed obedience " [*Cheshire Civil War Tract,* ix].

Mr. Cowper continued to show as much readiness of resource and determination as his predecessor in the mayoralty, Mr. Robert Harvey. At an Assembly held September 6, 1642, he moved that in consideration of the present and imminent danger, an assessment of 100 marks should be levied on the inhabitants of Chester for the repair of the gates and fortification of the wall [A.O. 555]. An active committee was formed for this assessment and the oversight of the work, probably consisting of the most loyal members of the council. " Magazine money " was ordered to be disposed of to buy " shott and powder " [A.O. 556, 557], and defaulters in payment were to be distrained upon. The State Papers, Domestic, under date August 30, 1642, contain a note of supplies required for Chester Castle : thirty-three beds and ten or twelve great guns with ammunition. To encourage the Royalist party, and to secure his interest in the city, which was a place of great importance as securing the communication with Ireland, King Charles determined to visit Chester, writing to the Mayor from Stafford on September 18th, in the following terms :—

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well; whereas we have resolved to make repayre to our Citie of Chester, on Friday next; These are to will and require you to warne all the Trayne-bands of that our Citie, to be in readiness, and give their attendance to Us in our entrance into the same; and to take care that necessary provision be made for entertainment of Us, and our retinue: so not doubting of your diligence therein, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Stafford, 18th September, 1642.

To our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Cowper, Mayor of our Citie of Chester.

The King, in company with the Prince of Wales, and suite, arrived in Chester from Shrewsbury, September 23, 1642, his forces being augmented at Milton Green by Mr. Richard Egerton of Ridley, at the head of some six hundred musketeers, and at Hatton Heath and Rowton Heath by those of the Lords Rivers and Cholmondeley and Sir Thomas Aston respectively. He was met at Spital Boughton, where the liberties of the city begin, between 4 and 5 p.m., by the two sheriffs, Thomas Mottershead and Hugh Leigh, and their company of sheriffs-peers, and leave-lookers, all gowned in scarlet and mounted on horseback, and escorted by them into the city "with all the bells ringing and trumpets sounding." The trainbands and volunteers, well accoutred, were regularly drawn up on each side of Foregate Street, discharging as his Majesty passed by; and the city companies, with their respective colours and banners were arranged along the Eastgate street. The Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen in their robes of office, assembled on a raised platform, gaily festooned and decorated, on the south side of Eastgate Street, before the door of one Thomas Parnell, at the Honey-stairs, knelt down upon the King's arrival, while the Recorder, Robert Brerewood, serjeant-at-law, delivered the following address, which, however, could scarcely be heard above the tumult.

Most gracious Soveraign:

We your Majesties most humble and obedient Subjects, the Maior and Citizens of this Your most ancient City, do in all humility crave leave to take the boldness to bid Your

Majestie and our most noble Prince, our hopefull Earl of Chester, welcome to this place, the ancient seat of Your Majestie, and Your Majesties Royall progenitours, Earls of Chester. This ancient City, the Metropolis of this ancient County Palatine, though it hath been sometimes honoured by the residence of senior Earls thereof within it; yet it hath seldom (ever since) been so highly honoured, as to lodge a King and Prince of this Realm at once within it, though but one night: The honour, then, with the accesses of Your Royall person, and of the person of our noble Prince at this time unto this City doth bring such, that it doth transcend all former of this kind, and doth fill our hearts at once with a great deal of Joy and security; For we are in great fears in regard to the Rebellion in Ireland; as also in regard of a Malignant party that hath lately appeared amongst us; But we are as sensible that Your Majesties presence expells all dangers, and renders us secure from the dangers abroad, and distractions at home. And it is, most mighty King, the satisfaction of all our hearts that Your Majestie hath already sufficiently testified to all the world, Your Majesties indeered love unto all Your Subjects, and to the Protestant Religion, whereof Your Majestie is justly stiled The Great Defender; and we in this place, in thankfullnesse to the same, will be ever ready to adventure our Lives and Fortunes for the defence of Your Majestie, in whose safety rested onely our security.

And Mr. Maior of this City, humbly prostrate upon his knees, doth according to his duty, surrender and yield up to Your excellent Majestie all the Authority and Iurisdiction he holdeth under Your Majestie, and with it the Sword of this City, the Ensign thereof; And he and we all of this City shall ever pray, Long live King Charles victorious over all His Enemies.

The Mayor then came down from the stand, and upon his knees, delivered the city sword to the King, who graciously returned it; when the Mayor, bare-headed and mounted, carried the same before his Majesty to the Pentice, where he and his suite were entertained. A purse of two hundred pounds in gold was presented to the King by the Mayor, on behalf of the city, and half that amount to the Prince of Wales. These gifts were thankfully received, although according to some accounts a larger amount was hoped for. The King held his court at the Bishop's Palace.

About this time troops, equipment, and ammunition appear to have been continually coming into the city. The afternoon of the King's arrival witnessed that of two of the Lord Strange's troops of horse, together with 80 horse loads of muskets and bandoliers, which were laid in the Common-hall, 200 more being in Lord Strange's house. Five thousand men were reported to be coming to Chester through Lancashire. But despite the popular acclamation with which the King was greeted, his demands to make the city his chief place of residence, to take control of the fortifications and to appropriate the trainbands to the service of his person, created some consternation among the more thoughtful burgesses, who could foresee the hazardous position in which the city would be placed [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts*, xiv, xv.].

1642. September 23.

Good Sir,

The latter end of your letter is somewhat comfortable, in that you write there are some Dragoons coming into Chester for our relief, but surely they are not come, and now will come too late for we are all plundred and undone; Nantwich is taken by my Lord Grandisons Army, and the Town disarmed, and many houses plundred who stood for the Parliament and Militia, the owners of them driven to run away for safety of their lives, for they have threatened them much, and after they had disarmed the Town, they came into the Country and disarmed all the great houses: First Sir Thomas Delves, then my Lord Crews, then Sir Richard Wilbrahams, and so all the other Gentlemen round about us and plundred their houses, they being forced not onely to leave their own houses, but also the Town of Nantwich, and their poor Tennants and Country men, to the mercy of those mercilesse Villans who will have what they list, nay they will have what we have not for them, or else they will set a Pistoll to our throats and sweare God damne them they will make us swallow a Bullet, some of them are not content to take what Arms they can find, but also Mony, Plate, Linnens, Cloaths, Writings, Meat, Drink, and not therewith content, but steale our horses and maers, drive our women and children into such feare that they overrun their houses, ly in the fields, ditches and woods, I do not heare of the like cruelty that hath been used any where but in that miserable and bleeding Kingdom of Ireland, we are like to be worse yet, for this day the King is at Chester, and all the whole

County from sixteen years to sixty, is to meet and attend his Majesty, and the Commissioners of Array within half a mile of Chester with all their Arms which they haue left, none dare refuse to come, the malignant party will inform against them, and then they are threatened to be all carried away with my Lord Grandisons Army, the best of it is, if we stay at home we are now their slaves, being naked they will have of us what they list, and do with us what they list, however, I believe we shall be made the Seat of War, and so be utterly ruined and undone, for want of help in time and true hearts amongst ourselves, I thank God hitherto I have escaped, yet with much fear and danger, but I must confesse it is more of the goodnesse and mercy of my good God, then of any deseart in me, God grant I may make a good use of it, and give Him the glory; The secondarie means was, I having acquaintance with some of the Cavaliers, who formerly were something beholding unto me, I now find it to be something better with me and some friends of mine then I or they expected, and yet our feares are great when houses nigh unto us have bin plundred twice over, and the owners thereof watched for, as the Cat watcheth for the Mouse, what they would do with them, or how they would use them, God knowes, I pray you pardon my errors in writing, for my feares and distractions are great; I onely desire you to pray for us, and let us heare from you; God knowes how long or short a time we shall heare one from another, the Lord fit us for these ill times, and worse which I much feare; So prayeth your much obliged friend, &c.

To heare the pittyfull scriking, weeping, and howling of women and children, did more trouble me than any thing else; God grant I never heare the like [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts*, xiv].

The Kings Majesties Demands, and Propositions, propounded by His Majesty, to the Mayor, Knights, and Gentry of the City of Chester, Sept. 24, 1642.

Upon Satterday last, His Majesty with-drew Himselfe from Shrewsbery, and tooke His journey towards Chester, accompanied with the Prince and the Duke of Lenox his troope, and presently after came the Lord Chomleyes Regiment, togeather with twenty-two peeces of Ordnance, when His Majesty came to the Gates of the City he propounded these ensuing propositions to the Knights and Gentry that were within the City, Viz.

1. That His Majesty out of the Princely care and affection that he bore to this City of Chester, hath and is Resolved to make it his cheife place of Residence, and therefore desires the Knights and Gentry that are inhabitants thereof to give him admittance.

2. That since his comming from London he could find no place so conveneient and meet to entertaine His Royall Person and posterity, as Chester, and that he hoped that they would prove as loyall to him as he hath been mercifull unto them.

3. That his desire is, That they would be pleased to resigne up the Magazine to his royall Majesty, and withall to deliver the keyes of the Gates of that City, and that they would condescend unto these his Demands, as to let the Trained Bands to goe alone with him towards Shrewsbury, but unto these Propositions and Demands of His Majesty they would by no means condescend alleadging that if the trained bands were gone and the Magazine resigned up, wherein consisteth the strength of the county, they should be left naked and exposed to the hazard of what dangers might befall in these troublesome times, and so would not by any meanes give consent to those his requests [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts,* xvi].

A muster of the Commissioners of Array and the train-bands, in fact, of all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, was ordered for the following day, and reviewed by his Majesty on Hoole Heath, outside the city, when he received the following petition :—

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The humble gratulation and petition of the trained bands, and freeholders and others the gentry and communalty of the County Palatine of Chester, whose names are underwritten. Delivered upon Hoole Heath, by the trayned bands, a coppie of the same being hung upon the top of every colours; subscribed by the severall companies, and so presented to the King. London : Printed for M.T., 1642.

Your Petitioners,

With inexpressable joy of heart doe acknowledge and render all humble thanks, for this great pledge of your Majesties favour, and affection towards this countrey, that in this time of so much trouble and distraction, you have revived their dejected spirits with the reall comfort of your Royall presence, and intrusted Your sacred Person amongst them. And Your Majesties most loyall and affectionate Subjects, knowing there is no Seed so pure amongst which spring not up some tares, they humbly pray that by your Princely Wisedome and Providence, they may bee secured from the just jealousies of such malignant Persons amongst them, who envying the peace of the Country, they have too much cause to feare, waite but for an opportunity to make spoile of them, whiles they with such fidelity and diligence endeavour your

defence, as becomes their duties. And though they cannot but with great regreet and sorrow of heart apprehend, that notwithstanding all those unexampled acts of justice, mercy, and grace, wherewith you have for ever obliged that Nation and People, in the greatest bonds of gratitude ever put by Prince upon his Subjects, that there should still remaine any cause, or shadow of fear and jealousies amongst any of Your Subjects, pretending loyalty or gratitude, much more that there should be actuall levying of Armes, and waging of warre within this Nation to the barbarous assascination and ruine of one another.

Yet since divers of our fellow Subjects are destroyed, slaine, and plundered, by those forces under pretence of public good, and that Your Majesty hath thought fit to disavow Your assent to such leavyes, to prohibite them by your Proclamations, and to declare them raised against Your Sacred Person, and to take away Your Life, we being no Judges of the grounds of such jealousies as should justly occasion those armes, and declaring to all the world that wee see no cause for them, doe humbly pray that whiles Your Majesty is amongst us, you will bee pleased to call before you the Collectors of such moneyes as have beene levied upon this County, under pretence of reliefe to Ireland (whose miseries we see daily increase) to give account in whose hands the same remaines, or to whom transmitted, that by your piety and providence it may be so disposed, that the right end may not bee abused, nor the Subjects owne moneyes, inverted against them to their own ruine, whiles they are imployed in Your defence, who as they are bound by their oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and the late Protestation, are ready with their lives, fortunes and utmost power, to assist and defend Your Sacred Majesty, against all conspiracies, power, and attempt whatsoever, made or to be made against Your Royall Person, Crowne, and Dignity, or any of Your Princely issue, whose long, peaceable, and prosperous raigne, over all your three Kingdomes, in your full rights, power and glory, your Petitioners unanimously pray to God to continue [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts,* xvii].

The gentlemen who had opposed the Array had all been marked men. Among these Sir Richard Wilbraham, Sir Thomas Delves, Mr. Philip Mainwaring of Baddeley; Mr. Birkenhead the Prothonotary, and his son Henry, were placed in custody, and later removed to Shrewsbury.

A representation having been made to the King that a quantity of arms and warlike stores had been clandestinely

brought into the city by disaffected persons, he issued the following mandate :—

CHARLES R.

These are to will and require you and euery of you, takinge unto you or euery of you the Assistance of the Sherriffs of Our Citty of Chester, and such other Power of Our sayd Citty as the sayd Maior thereof, Earle of Darby, Earl Rivers, Lo : viscount Cholmondeley, Robert Brerewood, Recorder, William Gamull, Charles Walley and Thomas Thropp, Aldermen of our sayd Citty, or euery of you shall thinke meete, as soone as conveniently you may to search the seuerall Houses of S'r William Brereton, Baronett, William Edwards, Alderman, and Thomas Aldersey, Alderman, the Red Lyon and the Golden Lyon, scituate in Our sayd Citty, Wherein you or euery of you shall suspect to bee any Armes or Amunition intended to be used against vs or any Person or Persons deriving authority from vs, or against any Our louing subjects : And all such armes and Amunition that you or euery of you shall find vpon yo'r sayd search, to seize and take into yo'r Custodies for the vse of vs, to be disposed of as Wee shall appoint.

Giuen at Our Court att Chester this 26th of September in the Eighteenth yeare of Our Raigne [1642].

To our trusty and Welbeloued Thomas Couper, Maior of Our Citty of Chester, and to Our right trusty and right welbeloued Cosins, James Earle of Darby and John Earle Rivers, and to Our right trusty and welbeloued Robert Lord Viscount Cholmondeley, and to Our trusty and welbeloued Robert Brerewood, Recorder, William Gamul, Charles Walley and Thomas Thropp, Aldermen of Our Citty of Chester, and to all any or euery of them [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts,* xviii].

On the following day, his Majesty issued his Royal "declaration to all his loving subjects upon the occasion of his late messages to both houses of parliament, and their refusal to treat with him for the peace of the kingdom." His departure from the city was accelerated by the arrival of a messenger from Prince Rupert, who informed him of the important advantage before Worcester, and presented him with the colours which had been taken from the enemy. On September 28th the King proceeded to Wrexham, being escorted to the city boundary by the mayor and aldermen.[17]

[17] The Cathedral Accounts contain a number of interesting items relating to the preparations made at the Cathedral for the King. The Organists of Chester Cathedral, by Dr. J. C. Bridge, *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society,* N.S., XIX, pp. 85-86. See Appendix I, p. 216.

In connection with the Royal Visit, the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Cowper, proposed at an Assembly, Friday [the A.O. has in error twice, Saturday] September 23, 1642, that the sum of £300 should be " assessed upon the cittizens and all other the Inhabitants of the Citty," of which £200 should be " presented to His Sacred Majestie, and £100 to the Prince his highness our hopefull Earle of Chester." Mr. Charles Walley and five other members of the council were " appointed cessors for the imediate cessinge of the same " and " for the present [*i.e.*, immediate] advancement of the said sume " (for the King and his retinue were to arrive in Chester that same afternoon). A promise of a loan to the amount needed was given by the Mayor and his brethren in sums of £10, £5, and £3, to be brought in by four o'clock in the afternoon. It is to be noticed that the names of Mr. William Edwards and Mr. Calvin Bruen do not appear in the list of contributors given below [A.O. 558, 559].

Mr. Thomas Cowper, Maior, £10
Robert Brerewood, Serjeant at Lawe & Recorder, £10
Wm. Gamull, ald., £10
Christopher Blease, ald., £10
Wm. Sparke, ald., £10
Thomas Throppe, ald., £10
Thomas Aldersey, ald., £10
Rd. Leicester, ald., £10
Mr. Sheriff Mottershed, £10
Mr. Hugh Whickstead, £5
Mr. Wm. Jones, £10
Mr. Rd. Byrd, £10
Mr. Jno. Johnson, £5
Mr. Jno. Whitby, £3
Mr. Wm Whittell, £5
Raph Burrowes, £3
Edward Reynolds, £5
Henry Young, £5
Miles Pemberton, £5
Sir Thomas Smith, Knt, £10
Nicholas Ince, £10
Charles Walley, ald., £10
Randle Holme, sen., ald., £10
Robert Sproston, ald., £10
Wm. Ince, ald., £10
Randle Holme the younger, ald., £10
Mr. Sheriff Leigh, £10
Mr. Thos. Humphreys, £5
Mr. Rob. Wright, £10
Mr. Edd. Evans, £10
Mr. Jno. Wilding, £3
Mr. Jno. Leckonby, £5
Mr. Raph Davies, £5
Thomas Wright, 40s.
Wm. Crompton, £5
Simon Lea, £3
Gerrard Jones, £3

Mr. Cowper's successor in the mayoralty, Mr. William Ince, exhibited the same vigour and loyalty in caring for the defence of the city, and at the first meeting of the council, after his election, Friday, October 21, 1642, an

order was passed for raising forthwith a body of 300 men, fully armed, in addition to the trainband, the Mayor and Aldermen and others " freely undertaking to find the musketts with there appurtenances " [A.O. 565].

The Mayor with his brethren was requested to " viewe the said Armes upon Tuesday following at 2 o'clock."

This was followed by an Order of Assembly, Friday, November 11, 1642, on the proposition of the Mayor, Mr. Wm. Ince, that the city gates be guarded day and night by watchmen armed with muskets and halberds, and " a Courte of Guard kept at the High Cross, consisting of 12 persons who there shall remayne night and day to bee ready upon all occasions to give directions for the better ordering of the said Watch." Instructors from the trainband were to be chosen to put the watchmen through their exercises, the muskets to be kept in the Pentice, and the cost of a month's maintenance with powder, shot, match and pay for the Instructors, estimated at £66 13s. 4d., to be " borne by the whole Inhabitants of the city " [A.O. 567, 567*a*]. A general muster of " all the soldiers as well those of the trayne Band as of the Volunteeres " was ordered for the Monday following [A.O. 567*b*].

Still more vigorous measures were taken shortly afterwards, for at an Assembly held on Tuesday, December 6th, " It was agreed that wee shall all joyne together in a mutuall Association for the defence of this Citty against all fforces whatsoever that shall come in an hostile manner for to invade this citty or to disturbe the peace thereof " [A.O. 568]; and, as there had been recently a large influx into the city of noblemen and gentlemen and their following from Cheshire, and even from neighbouring counties, it was considered just that they should share with the citizens the burden of defence. It was therefore ordered [A.O. 569, 574] " that the Cittizens and all others that are inhabitants within this Cittie shalbe moved to contribute in making provision of armes and all maner of amunition, as also in makinge of outeworkes and planting of ordnance for the defence of the Citty." Thirty or forty pounds was to be

spent on these outworks at the discretion of the Mayor and the overseers of the work [A.O. 570]. The measures were instigated by Mr. Orlando Bridgman, the Bishop's son, who is said to have assumed the governorship of the city. Lord Kilmorey, Mr. Francis Gamull, and more especially the Lady Cholmondeley, without whom, it was said, nothing could be done, gave influence and power to this dictatorship ; and in face of the danger which threatened the city, owing to its nearness to Manchester, where the Parliamentary party was very strong, the citizens were probably glad to see steps being taken to defend the town, were it only from plundering, without being inclined to question the authority. By December 17th the Commissioners of Array had got into the city three hundred horse and six hundred foot. [*King's Pamphlets,* 88-8]. But, as it was clear that even if those within would be able to defend the city, the combined forces of Sir William Brereton and the Manchester Parliamentarians would devastate the whole countryside and bring ruin upon those who had quitted their houses in the county to seek refuge in the town, a desire for pacification began to show itself, and was taken up with energy. Through the solicitations of Sir Richard Wilbraham, a meeting was arranged to take place between the Commissioners of Array and the Committee of the Militia to discuss terms of neutrality. The meeting was eventually held at Bunbury, and an agreement entered into whereby there should be an absolute cessation of arms ; that the prisoners on both sides should be released ; the fortifications of Chester, Nantwich, Stockport and Knutsford demolished, that goods plundered should be restored ; and that both parties should obtain the ratification of the Article from the King and the Parliament respectively. Lord Kilmorey and Mr. Orlando Bridgman represented the Royalists, while Mr. William Marbury and Mr. Henry Mainwaring attended on behalf of the Deputy Lieutenants. This agreement, concluded on December 23rd, was however, impracticable under the circumstances, and the Parliament, without any hesitation, repudiated it as inexpedient and prejudicial [Rushworth MSS. ; *Cheshire Civil War Tracts,* xxi].

Sir W. Brereton shortly after was proclaimed traitor by the King, and on January 12, 1642-3, a declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament was issued for his protection, they having previously, on January 9th, issued their instructions for the rigorous prosecution of the war [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts*, iii].

A further contribution of £500 was ordered on Friday, February 3, 1642-3, to be levied forthwith towards the making of fortifications [A.O. 576].

Att an assemblie houlden in the Common-hall of Please, upon Friday, the third day of February—William Ince, Maior, *civit. Cestr. Anno Domini* 1643—*Anno Rex Caroli Decimo octavo.*

It is ordered by general consent, that the sume of five hundred pounds shall be forthwith assessed and levied upon all the inhabitants of this citie towards the making of fortifications for the defence thereof: and for all other publique charges requisite for the good of this citie, and in default of payment the same to be levied by distresse.

Wm. Ince, Maior.
W. Crompton, } Sheriffs
John Johnson }
Edwd. Hallwood } Leave
Wm. Bennett } lookers.
James, Earl of Derby
John, Earl of Rivers
Sir T. Smith
R. Brerewood, recorder
William Gamull, ald.
Nicholas Ince, ald.
Richard Dutton, ald.
Chr. Blease, ald.
Ch. Mallory, ald.
Thomas Byrd, ald.
Wm. Sparke, ald.
Randle Holme, ald.
Fr. Gamull, ald.
Wm. Edwards, ald.
Thomas Throppe, ald.
Rt. Sproston, ald.
Rt. Harvie, ald.
Thomas Aldersey, ald.
Thomas Cowper, ald.
Rt. Flecher, ald.
Rd. Leycester, ald.
R. Holme, jun., ald.
Hugh Whitehead
Thomas Humphreyes
John Aldersey
Robert Ince
Richard Broster
William Jones
William Parnell
Robert Wright
Richard Byrd
Edward Evans
Calvin Bruen
Edward Bradshaw
Owen Hughes
Thomas Weston
William Wilcocke
William Drinkwater
Richard Bradshaw
John Whittle
Edward Hulton
Thomas Mottershead
Hugh Leigh
Peter Goose
William Gregory

| | |
|---|---|
| Edmund Williams | Humphrey Philips |
| Alexander Byrd | Robert Anyon |
| William Hincks | George Bennett |
| Peter Ince | Lawrence Flecher |
| Chris. Berneard | Hugh Monson |
| John Wildinge | John Sproston |
| Peter Leigh | Richard Lea |
| William Higgnet | Lawrence Yonge |
| John Whitbye | Randle Richardson |
| John Leconby | Henry Yonge |
| William Whittle | Simon Lea |
| Randle Davies | Richard Dickinson |
| Richard Sproston | Miles Pemberton |
| Laurence Massey | Humphrey Lloyd |
| Randle Burroughs | Gerrard Jones |
| John Brookes | William Ball |
| Thomas Wright | Daniel Greatbach |
| Edward Reynolds | James Ravenscroft |

The six assessors were Aldermen Sparke and Holme; Richard Broster, Hugh Leigh, John Leckonby and William Whittell. Collectors: William Jones, Owen Hughes, Edward Hulton and Thomas Mottershead [A.O. 576].

Some account is given in Harl. 2155 of the outworks and entrenchments directed to be carried out by the city authorities. The fortifications and defences of the city were made much stronger by the advice of Colonel Ellis, Major Sidney and other skilful engineers, who caused, according to the modern way of fortification, a trench to be cut, and mud-wall to be made from Deeside without the Barrs to Deeside at the new tower: the wall to be repaired and lined with earth, the Newgate and new Tower Gate to be mured up, diverse peece of canon to be planted in convenient places both for offence and defence; drawbridges at the Northgate, Eastgate, Bridge and Castle to be made and turnpikes at all the outworks, at Barrs, Cowlane end, without the Northgate, and at the Mount at Dee lane end, by little S. Johns, besides severall mounts, pit falls and other devises to secure the outworks and annoy the enemyes approach to the city.[18]

[18] Another account [Harl. 2125], under date about February 3, states that the Welsh soldiers under Colonel Mostyn and others who had been brought in to assist in defending the City, pillaged Sir William Brereton's house and committed great havoc there. The houses of persons suspected of disaffection were searched and the arms found taken away; and some citizens of note and other persons were committed to the Castle and to the Northgate prison, while others made their escape from the city.

While these preparations were being carried out in Chester, Sir Thomas Aston, of Aston, bart., made an unsuccessful attack on Sir William Brereton, which resulted in the capture of many gentlemen of loyalty, including Captain Cholmondely, and Captain Bridgman.

This was followed by skirmishes near Nantwich, and, February 20, 1642-3, on Tilston Heath, which were more or less favourable to the Royalists. They were, however, badly defeated the following month at Middlewich on March 13, 1642-3, when Colonel Ellis, the engineer who had supervised the entrenching at Chester, Sir Edward Mosley, bart., and a large number of officers and men were captured. The alarm occasioned by this rout is reflected in a resolution of the Chester City Council, March 23, 1642-3 [A.O. 581], by which in consideration of "the great danger this City is subject unto in these perilous tymes and the necessitie of having such cittizens as are become souldiers for the defence of this garrison duly paid," it was ordered that the soldiers' weekly payment should be continued, the necessary funds to be raised by assessment and collected by the constables of the respective wards with power of distraint.

Sir William Brereton was not without his anxieties and difficulties, for whilst large numbers were daily flocking to the King's standard, though the forces under his own command were considerably augmented, there was a want of discipline, and the scarcity of funds was found to be a great hindrance to success, as it was at a later period in the Civil War.

1642-3, February 4, Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton to John Pym.

Our enraged enemy lay in wait and had prepared an ambuscade for our destruction, but the Lord was pleased to watch over us and to deliver 100 of them into our hands, both men, horses and many arms. Difficult how to dispose of them as we have no place of strength whereunto to retreat, save only in the Nantwich, which we are about to fortify.

Complains two of his best horses with their saddles and pistols, 500 or 600 of his sheep at Chester and many horses had been seized, his house at Chester plundered, and divers

of his goods conveyed away and feather beds sold for 20/- a piece.

1642-3, February 10, Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton to Capt. Francis Rowe.

We have near upon five troops of horse in this county, but because they are independent troops and not subject to command, desires that a major be sent down, an honest and consciencious man. Officers much wanted.

Am much weakened by thronging in of foreign forces out of Shropshire, Wales and Lancashire, the Earl of Derby being now at Chester and making his strongest design for Chester, and the Manchester forces not doing anything to divert him. We must raise another regiment.

Captain Barkely, who commands the Kings pinnace, the *Swan,* is very officious to the Commissioners of Array, and hath promised them two pieces of ordnance to guard Chester. It is said the Comers have given him £500 or £1,000. If some speedy care be not taken to prevent him, he may do very much mischief. At extreme want of money and desire we may have benefit of like orders for raising money in our county as hath been already granted for Yorks., Bucks., Leicester and Somerset, giving power also to assess Malignants' estates in the said county, which, if it be not granted, we shall be speedily very much distressed.

1643, March 28.

House of Commons Order for Sir William Brereton to satisfy his losses out of estates of Sir Ed. Fitton and Thomas Leigh [Portland MSS., 94, 96].

As the taking of Chester was regarded by the Parliamentarians "a matter of very great concernement," and the Royalists in Chester were somewhat discouraged by the trend of affairs, King Charles, March 13, 1642-3, appointed Sir Nicholas Byron, kt., Governor of the city. He was uncle of Sir John Byron, who defended Chester so bravely in later years. Sir Nicholas was admitted into the freedom of the city *gratis* at a meeting of the Assembly, April 14, 1643 [A.O. 585], and he appears to have been continued in his post as Governor until he was taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces in January, 1643-4.

Sir William Brereton sends to the Speaker, William Lenthall, June 15, 1643, information gleaned from letters of Sir Nicholas Byron to Lord Capel, taken at Whitchurch.

1643, June 15, Namptwich.—Sir William Brereton and William Mowbray to William Lenthall.

By the letters . . . from Sir Nicholas Byron, Governor of Chester, to the Lord Capel, taken amongst many others at Whitchurch . . . dated April 5 and . . . 28 . . . it appears that they then hoped shortly to receive good supplies out of Ireland, which are not to be taken notice of until they come.

Such is the expression of the letter dated April 5, 1643. In the other letter,

Sir Nicholas Byron expresseth, that next the business of Reading, if it should miscarry, our retreat must be into these parts with those forces the King can make and not stay in the midst of an enemy to be surrounded in all sides, but where we may countenance such succours as may easily come out of Ireland. In pursuance hereof some rebels are already landed and entertained, many more are daily expected, and this morning I was advertised from Liverpool that there were two barques of Irish rebels come into Chester Water, which our ships could not prevent, the wind having been constantly averse since their coming to Liverpool. The fortifications are as strong as the judgment and art of those men that command there can contrive them; their preparation of ordnance is suitable thereto, there being no less than forty cannons as we have heard and the Castle victualled for three years . . . Some of them in their letters which I have seen have affirmed this City impregnable.

We will only add the conclusion of Sir Nicholas Byron's letter:—

However things happen, Shrewsbury and Chester must be our last refuge, and so to provide for them in time as no thought of quitting them must be entertained.

There are indications of intrigue and disaffection within the city, for on June 3, 1643, Randall Walker, a felt-maker, of Chester, gave information before Alderman Nicholas Ince, and his brother Alderman, Randle Holme, that, on the evening of the previous day, Richard Dunbavan, clerk to the Recorder, Mr. Robert Brerewood, came to the deponent's house and in conversation with him, and one Peter Snead, of Chester, draper, asked what the deponent would say should Mr. Mayor (Mr. William Ince) be within the Castle in four and twenty hours, and a new mayor be

chosen in his place. And what if he, the speaker, should be High Constable of the Castle before to-morrow night? To which enquiries the deponent answered " that yf he could get into the steeple he would knowle the common bell, and that if there were neither rope nor clapper he would stricke it " [Letter Book]. All this may have been vapouring and perhaps without solid foundation, but naturally there would be an abundance of rumour and suspicion, especially in view of what had occurred earlier in the year. On June 5, 1643, all citizens of Chester, not enlisted in Colonel Gamull's regiment, were ordered to "assemble on the morrow at the Roodee at noone, then and there to be enlisted, and put under such commanders as the Mayor and Governor of the city shall appoint " [Letter Book].

## CHAPTER II.

### The First Assault. Reinforcements from Ireland.

The anxiety of the authorities about the defence of Chester does not seem to have been lessened by the appointment of Sir Nicholas Byron. At a special meeting on July 5th it was proposed that Alderman Charles Walley and Sheriff Johnson should be sent as a deputation to the King, who was then at Oxford, to " solicit his Majesty concerning the affairs of the City " [A.O. 586].

Hardly a fortnight after this (Tuesday, July 18th), Sir William Brereton, accompanied by Mr. William Edwards, (mayor in 1636 and also in 1646) and "diverse fugitive citizens " commenced the memorable siege. They contented themselves for the first two days " pelting the outworks at Boughton with small shott." On Thursday, July 21st, he made an assault upon the sentries at Cowlane, but only as a feint to conceal his withdrawal in the direction of Tarvin.

To commemorate this success, a service of public thanksgiving was held in the churches on July 25th, and the bells of St. Mary's were rung by command of the Mayor.[19]

To deprive the enemy of any shelter for any future attack on this side, all the barns without the turnpikes at Boughton were fired by command of the Governor, the chapel, Spital Boughton, was pulled down, and the stone barn against it, all the houses in the neighbourhood " ruinated," the trees cut down and the hedges levelled.

It was quite evident that Chester would before long have to face a regular investment. The Commissioners of Array for Cheshire took measures to guard the passages on the River Dee, especially at Holt, Bangor and Overton.

[19] Paid for Ringinge the evening after the publique thanksgivinge the 25th of July after the enemy was gone from before this City, by command of ye Mayor, xj$^{s}$ vj$^{d}$

1643, August 9.—Commissioners of Array to Constables of Peace for Hundred of Chirk.

Hundred of Bromfield (as his Maj. enemies are now in a body upon the confines of this county) have raised 124 musketeers to guard the passages on river of Dee and levy £150 for the payment of their soldiers and officers for one month. We thought fit that 100 men be raised in Hd of Chirkland and Yale and £100 levied. Gather within your Hd sum of 100 marks, being your proportion.

1643, December 1.—Commissioners of Array to Constables of Peace for Hundred of Chirk.

Order to raise money to pay 300 freemen appointed to continue for a constant guard upon the several passages—Holt, Bangor and Overton—the safety of whole county depends on making good these passages.

Both sides understood the importance of this, as the King drew large quantities of provisions from North Wales, and reinforcements were daily expected from Ireland.

Brereton had taken up a strong position at Wem, and desired permission from Parliament to apply the revenues of the King, Queen, and Prince, in Cheshire, to the supply of necessities to his soldiers in that county.

1643, October 21, Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

Desiring that the King's, Queen's and Prince's revenues in Cheshire might be applied for supply of necessities of the soldiers there.

1643, October 21.—Sir William Brereton and Sir Thos. Middleton to William Lenthall.

Wee with the forces which could bee spared out of Cheshire, having seized on Wem, we endeavoured the entrenchment thereof as a commodious and fitting place for our retirement if occasion should enforce us. Reports successful battle with Lord Capell's forces in defence of Nantwich. Important as North Wales, from whence the maggazyne of all his M's provisions of victualls and men doe proceed and alsoe of Chester whoe by reason of the cessaen of armes in Ireland dalye expect the rebells landing and arrivals.

We want but only 500 horse and 500 foote to help us, and a matter of £3,000 in money [Portland MSS., 140, 141].

The citizens on the other hand

" Ordered that a peticon should bee preferred to his Majestie for reliefe towards the maintenance of this garrison, and for

the manner of framing the said peticon it was referred to Mr. Maior, Mr. Recorder and the rest of his brethren " [A.O. 593, Friday, October 20].

In response to this appeal, the King, writing from Oxford, November 7, 1643, to the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester, gives them or any four (Randle Holme, Mayor, being of the quorum) power to take lands and goods of Sir Wm. Brereton and W. Jolly and all others in actual rebellion against him within five miles of Chester, and to distribute the same for the maintenance of his garrison in the city and castle of Chester, and towards the entertainment of Sir Abraham Shipman, kt., commander there.

The city was meanwhile making strenuous efforts in preparation for the close investment which seemed now inevitable. At an Assembly, Friday, October 20th, propositions were made for raising three troops of horse for the defence, the expense to be defrayed out of contributions from strangers in the city, as well as from the free citizens [A.O. 594], and proclamation was made on November 9, 1643, strictly commanding all within certain townships to come " forthwith into the City of Chester with all their goodes and provisions of corne, cattle and victuall," on pain of being " reputed and proceeded against as adherents to the rebells and enemies to his Majestie."

Shortly after, King Charles writes from Oxford (Nov. 13th) to inform the Mayor of Chester that he " has given orders to Sir Abraham Shipman on approach of the rebels to command in chief."[20]

Assembly, Friday, December 1.

Mr. Richard Dutton, ald. was desired by this Assembly that he would be pleased withall speede to repaire to Oxford to present to his Majestie a peticon from Mr. Maior and the Aldermen his Brethren, in answer to his Majesties most gracious letter; whereunto Mr. Dutton giving his consent, it was thereupon ordered that Mr. Dutton should bee furnished with money for his sayd journey by the Tresurers of this citty [A.O. 601].

[20] In a rough draft of an undated proclamation he is styled " deputy-governor of the city."

It is perhaps due to Shipman's initiative, seconded by the active loyalty of the Mayor, Randle Holme, that other vigorous measures were taken to guard against a surprise. All free citizens and inhabitants of the city having arms of any kind, and " not enlisted in Col. Gamull's regiment " of trainbands, were directed to repair on alarm given to the Abbey Court. Armed citizens were to repair on alarm given to the aldermen of their respective wards, and citizens and inhabitants not provided with arms to the Pentice.

Another proclamation directs

(1) Householders on any allarme given to have lanthernes and lights both in Roes and sellers. Women and children to keep indoors. (2) Citizens on an alarm being given to repair to the High Crosse and put themselves under the aldermen appointed to command them, the armed citizens to bring their armour with them and the unarmed citizens coming prepared to receive halbeards and such other weapons as are stored up for them in the Pentice.

This order was somewhat at variance with another order on the same paper commanding

(3) All inhabitants of Chester, strangers as well as citizens, to assemble promptly on alarm given at the Pentice, and there put themselves under the Mayor's orders—all such persons refusing or neglecting to do so to be banished out of the city as disaffected persons. (4) All soldiers in Colonel Gamull's regiment on alarm given to repair forthwith to their captain's colours; and all gentlemen with armed servants to assemble in the Abbey Court, with such servants, and there act in accordance with a former proclamation.

The question of victualling the city in anticipation of a siege was also considered. One proposition was to the effect " that warninge be given to all Inhabitants within the Citty and suburbs to provide for theire own famelyes (within eight dayes followinge) corne, meale, bacon, butter, cheese, and other necessary provision for three moneths to come, otherwise to be comanded to provide themselves habitacions elsewhere, and also with provision of Fewell for the like tyme."

The Mayor and Governor of the city issued a proclamation to all persons living near the city and frequenting its

market to bring all their stores of provisions within the wall of the city and store them away in their own places or in the common storeroom " [Letter Book]. The great trial was rapidly approaching. Early in November (Tuesday, the 7th), Sir Wm. Brereton had forced the bridge over the Dee at Farndon thus opening a door into North Wales. Holt Castle, which commands the bridge, was still held by the Royalists, and special efforts had been made by them to render the bridge impregnable. Brereton's report to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Nov. 11, 1643, is full of interest.

Wee drewe out upon Tuesday last [Nov. 7] five Cheshire foote companies and three or four troops of horse and three or four companies of country dragooners, wherewith there joined five companies of Lancashire foote and one or two troopes of horse and one or two companies of dragooners under the command of Colonell John Booth and Leutenaunt-Colonell Peter Egerton and about 200 foote and one troope of horse of Sir Thomas Myddelton's, with which wee advanced that night to Farne over against the Holt in Wales wherein the enemy kept a garrison in the Castle and had contracted all the strengthe and powre of Wales for our resistance for which purpose they runge their bells backeward and fired the becons throughout Wales, for which end they had alsoe made a towre and drawbridge and stronge gates upon the bridge soe as both they and wee conceived it verie difficulte if not altogether ympossible to make way for our passage over the bridge, and therefore our design was to face them upon the bridge and in the meanetyme to attempt by boates to lande over some of our foote. To prevent which our enimy was soe watchful and circumspecte as that they placed theire ambuscadoes in the hedges and soe soone as our boates appeared on the water, they gave fire and beate our men from their boates, soe as wee were in much danger to loose them, when there remayned unto us noe other way but to march down the riverside with our foote towards some cariages of ours—wherein wee had turnells which wee had purposely provided to amaze the enimy—as though wee had intended to have forced our passage there alsoe. To interrupt and prevent which intended designe of ours they brought theire foote all alonge the riverside so farre remote from the bridge as that they gave us the opportunity to make a desperate assault upon the bridge by placing ladders to the toppe of the drawbridge and cutting the ropes. Which being done and the bridge falling down wee had

accesse to the gates and casting over some hand granadoes amongst the Welshmen—who there remayned—which struck such terror into them as that they all run away and could not be obtained to relieve. Whereby wee had a verie faire opportunity to force open the gates : which being done the enimy was without much difficultie beaten from theire double workes within the gates. . . . There was Colonell Ellis' regiment of foote, Major Trevor his regiment of horse and all the forces which could be raised in the adjoineing parts of Wales. Whom wee pursued, and routed both horse and foote, tooke about foure'ie comon prisoners—one captaine, foure or five lyfetenauntes, one cornet, and some say one of them is a Leutenaunt-Colonell whom wee have not had tyme yet to examine. In this fight and pursuite wee lost few or none. About six o'clock Thursday evening, we entred Wrexham, which lyes within 7 miles of Chester verie comodious to hinder all the passages to Chester. The enimy fly apace and begin to remove all their goodes out of these partes, but Holt Castle holds out, butt is beseidged. Wee have likewise obstructed the passages neere Chester on the other sides att Tarvin and Wirrall soe as I hope through God's mercie wee may be able to give a good account thereof if care may be taken that the King's forces may not fall downe upon us to oppresse and swallow us up and that some from my Lord Generall's armye may waite upon and imploy them [Portland MSS., 151].

The loss of Farndon Bridge was a serious blow to the Royalist cause, but a more serious disaster followed close. In the same month, within four days Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Middleton marched from Wrexham against Hawarden Castle. Brereton writes as follows :—

1643, November 15, Hawarden Castle.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

Upon Saturday last, Nov. 11th, Sir Thos. Middleton and myself with some nine troops of horse and two small foot companies marched from Wrexham towards Chester, leaving the city two miles on right hand and advanced to Hawarden Castle, which is a strong castle and in very good repair, and is commodiously situated for blocking up Chester, which was so unprovided as that upon summons it was delivered up unto us, and the gentlemen and others thereabouts did submit themselves and are admitted into the Parliament's protection. Sir T. Middleton is returned to Wrexham to a general muster, myself remaining here in the Castle, which is unfurnished and wants a new Draw Bridge, which I desire to secure and victual with

all possible speed. The whole country hereabouts tremble and dare not make any opposition, and Col. Davies and Col. Mostyn are fled and their commanders dispersed. The Bp. of York, Bps. of Chester, S. Asaph, and Bangor, and the Grandees of the country are at Conway, which they have exceedingly fortified, expecting the landing of the Irish army under the command of the Earl of Ormond [Portland MSS., 153].

According to the account in Appendix I., Hawarden Castle was delivered up by the treachery of " the faithless Col. [Thomas] Ravenscroft [of Bretton], and Mr. [John] Aldersey, without a gun shott : the delivery whereof was very discommodious to the City of Chester by stopping of corn, coals, lyme, and all sorts of victuals, which by ye Welsh was brought in while that side was open."

It is stated that this Thomas Ravenscroft, on the afternoon of the same day that Brereton entered Hawarden, came to Chester, pretending to be of the King's party, and applied to the Governor for a barrel of gun-powder and a quantity of match, which were unsuspectingly delivered to him by the storekeeper of the garrison [Pigott's *Chester,* p. 292].

Sir Wm. Brereton, with the promptitude which marked his campaign throughout, at once sent to Sir Abraham Shipman a summons to surrender, coupled with severe threatenings in case of refusal. This was rejected with scorn, but as a precautionary measure the buildings in Handbridge were, by the Deputy Governor's order (Nov. 16th) pulled down and " burned unknown to the Maior by Colonel Marrow and his company that the rebells might not shelter there from Hawarden Castle " [Harl. 2125]. Bache Hall (Mr. Whitby's house) and Flookersbrook Hall (Sir Thomas Smith's) were burnt down on the following day lest they might afford lodgments to enemies from another quarter.

This stern but necessary precaution caused much distress in the crowded city, and no little alarm. It was therefore judged necessary to issue a formal explanation in which it was pointed out that " the military commanders and aldermen of Chester have no purpose of destroying the fortified suburbs of Chester, but on the contrary will with their lives

preserve them from violence, this proclamation being issued to discredit certain seditious reports arising out of the recent demolition of the unfortified suburb of Hanbridge (at the advice of Sir Abraham Shipman, Deputy Governor of the said city), lest it should be occupied by the rebels" [Letter Book].

The Parliamentarians were, meanwhile, not a little disturbed by the news of the landing of a large body of troops which had been recalled from the campaign in Ireland. About 3,000 of these landed at Mostyn, in Flintshire, others in the Wirral. This interfered seriously with Brereton's plans for reducing Chester, and he describes his condition as "very desperate. Unless speedy aid be sent by sea to prevent the landing of more forces, the preservation of these parts may be much endangered."

1643, November 20.—Sir Thos. Stanley, etc. to William Lenthall.

Received certain intelligence that eleven ships laden with Irish soldiers are discovered near our coast and already landed in Worrall.—altogether nineteen ships with 10,000 to be landed.

1643, November 21.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

If these [Irish troops] had stayed but ten days longer, it is conceived the city of Chester could not have subsisted, whereas now we are constrained to draw our forces together and to unite them into stronger bodies to prevent their landing which they seem not yet to attempt upon our Cheshire coasts, but on the Welsh shore about sixteen or twenty miles below Chester. We desire some thirty or forty barrels of powder whereof we have great use, having been in continued action in Shropshire and Wales ever since Col. Mitten came down, middle of September.

1643, November 22, Wem.—Col. Mytton to Earl of Denbigh.

Rebels now landed in Flintshire about Mesten [Mostyn] to number of 3,000, and Lord Capell is preparing to receive some part into Shrewsbury, his confidence being more in them than the foot of this county.

Since this news the Cheshire commanders sent to withdraw the companies they lent us and which are the only stay of our garrison.

1643, November 24.—Col. Mytton to Earl of Denbigh.

Sir T. Middleton hath taken the Fort (? Farndon), Wrexham, Harding Castle and divers other places—all the Welsh

are fled and dispersed, not an enemy near him save the Castle of Holt, which can have no relief. Chester is beleaguered round and can have no assistance. 500 Horse will clear this county and bring the country to subjection. Send arms.

1643, November 26.—Col. Mytton to Earl of Essex.

Send 200 case of pistols, 200 dragoons, 600 muskets with 50 barrels of powder.

1643, November 28.—Sir William Brereton to his brother, Sir Rd. Skeffington, at Coventry.

The condition of these parts are not so hopeful as of late, when God was pleased to make way for us into Wales through great difficulties and by our proceedings there to make way for the recovery of Chester and reducing all these parts, likewise the Lord Capell's army, being almost routed, so as we had no opposition in Wales nor our proceedings against Chester till the Irish army landed, which consists of more than 2,500 foot, and these ships are returned by whom is speedily expected Col. Berne an Irish rebel with 3,000 rebels. The Earl of Newcastle's army presses near upon us upon the other side of the county so as we were recalled out of Wales to defend our county and expect daily invasions on each side. Our condition may therefore be accounted very desperate. Unless speedy aid be sent by sea to prevent landing of more forces, the preservation of these parts may be much endangered [Portland MSS., 156-162].

1643. November 29. Beaumaris.—Mr. Orlando Bridgman to the Marquis of Ormond.

May it Please your Excellency,

Your Excellency's letters by Mr. Brent found me at Oxford, and immediately upon the receipt of them I acquainted his Majesty with the contents. Both your letters, and the experience we had from Bristol, quickened their care at Court for the accommodation of the soldiers upon their landing, so that his Majesty sent down letters to the several counties of North Wales as also a gentleman (one Col. Tildesley) to those of Lancashire residing in these parts, for a present supply of clothes, victuals and some proportion of money, to which there was a fair return of promises; but the enemy having fatally (whether through abominable cowardice or treachery or both, I cannot tell) forced a passage into Wales over Holt bridge, a place of great import, within five miles of Chester, and dividing that shire from Denbighshire, when there were as many (and those backed with a strong castle at Holt) to guard it, as [there was] to assault it. By this means [they are] for the present forced to lay aside their preparations for the public

service, and provide for their own particulars. And by this means, Chester itself being in a manner blocked up, they were forced to burn all that part of their suburbs which were on the Welsh side of the city.

Their condition being represented by his Majesty, he commanded me down this fortnight, and I came happily to the landing of the forces which were sent with Sir Michael Ernley and Colonel Gibson. I presume they have related to your Excellency with what number they landed, and in what condition they now are. The enemy have wholly deserted Wales (for Holt Castle they had never taken), except Hawarden Castle, which was betrayed to them, and is now blocked up by 1,000 men, most of them of the country, and we are in hopes to starve them out. So that now your forces are at Chester, where we endeavour all that is possible for their accommodation, hitherto retarded by this unhappy irruption of the rebels into Wales. I have provided shoes and stockings for 1,000 or 1,200 of them, already delivered, and the rest were in making, which I hope they have by this time. I have gotten cloth and frieze sufficient for them all, not yet made into apparel, but hastened it to Chester, where I hope to have it fitted up this week and the next. And I am now purposely in these parts to raise some proportion of moneys for the officers and soldiers, and have gotten about 1,000*l.* which I shall distribute with their advice to the best advantage of his Majesty's service.

I am bold to give your Excellency a more particular account of this business, both for my excuse in the unreadiness of those accommodations, which might justly have been expected, and to give your lordship an assurance that I shall be so provided for those that are now to come over, that I shall have all the shoes and stockings, and I hope, most, if not all the apparel, if they be not above 2,000 men.

And in truth, all that can be done is little enough, for the rebels do so much tamper, and underhand[edly] infuse such dangerous notions into some of them, that were it not the discretion, loyalty, and moderation of the officers, which kept them in, many of them would turn to the enemy through hopes of their arrears (which he hath cunningly promised them) though they would soon find themselves deceived, God be thanked, that treasury being now as empty as ours.

The said conditions of these parts, as they were before these forces landed, hath hastened down my Lord Byron with some 1,200 horse and foot, most from Lancashire. He is advanced to Shrewsbury, and comes in the quality of Field Marshal of Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, and so under my Lord Capel in those parts, who is Lieut-General under the Prince.

I shall stay about Chester about a month or six weeks, during which time I shall apply myself to provide all the accommodation which I can for these soldiers, sent and happily arrived for the relief of these parts, which have reason to bless God for you as the happy instrument of their deliverance from oppression.

I humbly remain,

Your Excellency's most humbly devoted servant,

ORL. BRIDGMAN.

[Carte's *Life of Ormond*, v. 525].

In Harl. MS. 2125, fol. 135, it is stated that when the English-Irish soldiers came to Chester, they were "faint, weary, and out of clothing. The Mayor sent through all the wards to get apparel of citizens, who gave freely, some whole sutes, some two, some doubletts, others breeches, others shirts, shoes, stockings, and hatts, to the apparelling of about 300."

The landing of what is termed by Brereton the "Irish Army" certainly made a welcome diversion, and, supported by 300 of the citizens and trainbands and the companies of Captains Throppe and Morgell, they attacked Hawarden Castle on December 3rd with such spirit that the besieged capitulated the following day to Sir Michael Ernley, Kt., and Chester was on that side once more open for relief. The same opportune arrival brought about the recovery of Beeston Castle. "The Irish souldiers after this came to Chester to refresh themselves, being extremely harassed and out of cloathes, and were in both wants supplied to the utmost ability of the citizens, and whilst these were refreshing themselves Colonel Gamull with the assistance of Captain Sandford and his firelocks, in the middle of a dark night surprised the innermost ward of Beeston Castle, and garrisoned it for the King."

At a council holden at the Council Chamber within his Majestys Castle at Chester, this first day of December, 1643, We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having duly weighed and considered the application and request of Sir Michael Ernley, knight, and Major General Richard Gibson, for aid and assistance, whereby to enable them to reduce the rebel garrison at Hawarden, it is hereby ordered, that on the morrow by break of day, 300 of the citizens and train-bands,

with their proper officers, together with the companies of Captain Thropp and Morgell, do march to the assistance of the Kings forces now at Hawarden, and that this detachment shall be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Robinson.

(signed)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abraham Shipman | Francis Gamull |
| Rob. Cholmondeley | R. Grosvenor |
| William Manwaring | Thomas Thropp |
| Robert Brerewood | Charles Walley |
| Thomas Cowper | |

[Pigott's *Chester*, 294.]

1643. December 12. Chester, at the Red Lyon, Without Eastgate.—Capt. Byrch to G. Carr, Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond.

Sir,

I had forgotten more than I should if I had not remembered you. I had intended to have written to more friends, but you and they must remember how great a perindinator (*sic*) I am. This morning we are to march against as contemptible an enemy as ever we had in Ireland. Some experience we have had of it already, and I hope before to-morrow night we shall see more what valour rebels possess.

At our first landing we met with several disrespective (*sic*) warrants from Sir William Brereton, requiring from sixteen to sixty to be in arms to defend themselves from the invasion of 4,000 bloody Irish rebels. He could not have done us a greater courtesy than telling so loud a lie. (The honest Welsh received us very courteously, who were then ready to yield the bucklers, not for love, but fear of the faction). This was required to be published through Wales that we were such; that is, as far as Sir Thomas Myddleton's faction prevailed. This caused several of the religious ministers that loved conscience and the King to withdraw themselves, and not a few of the laity; Though we found enough besides to bid us heartily welcome.

At Holywell, the first place we came to, though the town were mostly Papists, we were told they pillaged none but the churches (in want of linen) and the poor curate. At Northop (thither we came next) they took away the surplice again, and did no other harm. It was then time of probationship amongst disarmed people; and you must understand the minister staid, and was a Scotchman. Thence to Hawarden we came, where our men beseiged the castle there (but lately and falsely betrayed by its owner a week before we came, a man entrusted much by the King and his officers, the more is his sin, one Ravenscroft), where we stayed three days; in which time we

had very happily six men killed, for at no less cost would our men believe that Englishmen would fight with any Englishmen, but Papists. And I cannot honestly conceal from you that three of these were killed more basely than ever you heard of any killed by the rebels in Ireland; for while some called unto them from the top of the wall, upon pretence of old acquaintanceship, and promised them sacredly they should receive no harm by their approaching, others shot at them, and missed not. The practices of their ringleader, Brereton, were not more honest nor honourable, who, the very same day that he sent his warrants as far as they could reach in Wales, with a letter to our commanders (then on ship board), almost in form of an humble petition, extolling to the skies their brave adventures in Ireland in defence of the Protestant Religion (which God knows he is sick of), confessing the unworthy reward the Parliament gave them for that service, desiring to have them excused, promising them, if they would adhere unto them, they should have their arrears undoubtedly, and humbly entreating that it would please them to accept of a parley. It was answered as nobly as men could answer rebels. I will not trouble myself to repeat this, because I believe copies are sent over by this. Well! Sir William receiving a short and flat answer what he was to trust to, and our men denying parley with rebels, he being at Wrexham, and having an army that might have done something with our men, they being newly landed (after six days being at sea many of them), many arms unfixed, many of them disaffected to ourselves, and very many straggled among their friends (though now we miss scarce any that came over with us), yet it please God to add such fear to him, that, we being many miles from him, for fear the Devil should take the hindmost, he made proclamation through his camp, that no man should stir, on pain of death, till further directions. As soon as that was done, lest he should be jostled at the bridge of Holt, the utmost term of the Welsh border, he most valiantly went over first, and then suffered the rest, routed only by conscience, to follow him. Flushed thus with his miraculous escape, the spirit enlightened him to look back again into Wales (which I believe he will see no more but in a map, or out of Beeston Castle), he commanded that the draw-bridge should be broken down, which had been enough to make our men seek another way if they were minded for Cheshire. Which done, our much respected forces ten miles off not yet appearing, he most desperately adventured to see an arch of the great bridge broken down, for the country's good and the liberty of the subject. Good man! he says there is no fighting against us: we are Devils.

I return to Hawarden Castle (though now going a contrary way). The beseiged there expected daily succours. Our men knowing the contrary fed them in that expectation to starve them. There were therein about 120 men, being all that was left of Sir Thomas Myddleton's regiment, seditious chaplain and all, except himself. Their necessity was of nothing more than water. It was taken for a miracle that it rained in winter, and they had leads to preserve it; and (which is strange) they were persuaded the water came from heaven. Our men, most part, withdrew to Chester, leaving only two companies of our own, and as I take it, 500 Welshmen to watch them. After eleven, or twelve days at most, they delevered the castle, on condition they should march away with half their arms, one colour, and £25 worth of goods. Which articles were not so well performed as I could have wished, but our men profess they could not help it, but it was the fault of some of the Lord Cholmley's men, who bid them remember Reading. For which fact, they say, Captain Sandford hewed some of our own side sufficiently, and (which was more than the articles required) guarded them out of Wales, where they will have no cause to fear the King's enemies again, we having now garrisons in all the Marches.

Now, if you desire to know what I find by my little experience in Britain of the behaviour of our zealots, I can do no less (if no more) than confirm what you have often heard. All the honest and religious clergy of Wales were fled to Conway and other safe places, till our landing set them at liberty, which was every whit as welcome and seasonable, and even more needful in this than the weakest part of the Kingdom. All the orthodox clergy of Cheshire and Lancashire are either here, or in Yorkshire, or in prison. They say that they have lately seized upon some men that would not publish in their churches that we were Irish rebels. I myself coming into the church of Hawarden the morning after they were there, found the Common Prayer-Book scattered up and down the chancel, and some well read man, without doubt, conceiving that the Common Prayers had been in the beginning of a poor innocent old church bible, tore out almost all Genesis for failing. It stood so dangerously it was suspected to be malignant. In windows where there was oriental glass they broke in pieces only the faces; to be as frugal as they could, they left sometimes the whole bodies of painted bishops, though in their rochets. But if there was anything in the language of the beast, though it was but an *hoc fecit,* or at worst, *orate,* etc. (and I but guess for I could not read it when it was gone), which had stood many years, and might many more, without

idolatry, that was dashed out. They had pulled the rails down about the table, and very honestly reared them to the wall (it was well they were in a coal country, where fuel was plentiful), and brought down the table to the midst of the church. Some of our soldiers came and swore it was not right (alas! that we have no better information), and set it close to the east wall again. At Wrexham they say (I was not there) they did the like villany almost in all points, and broke in pieces one of the best pair of organs in the King's dominions, which Sir Thomas Myddleton took for his proper pillage, to make bullets of. I am weary of these truths.

This day we march out, 4,000 foot at least, and 1,000 horse. We may go where we will for our enemies, if we have God's blessing, which I hope we shall not want, if not for our own for our enemies' sake. One thing I had almost forgot. On Saturday last we received a most gracious letter from his Majesty (which, if I had so much time, I would have sent you, and I hope some good man will), expressing his joy for our landing; his thankfulness for our so honest refusal of the rebels' propositions; his hopes that the time would be he might be more able to reward us for our service in Ireland; his sense of the unworthy desertion of him by the Parliament, from whom he expected better when he trusted them; his fear lest the report that they were Irish rebels might do some harm; his desire that therefore they should express in all places the detestation they have of the odiousness of that rebellion, and that by their constant prayers and sermons they would make men understand what religion they fight for.

I am, etc.,

HARRY BYRCH.

The civic authorities were not without anxiety in connection with this large addition to the garrison. There was much licence and disorder. It was therefore deemed necessary, December 1, 1643, to issue a proclamation against the pillage lawlessly and criminally practised by his Majesty's soldiers, and against the action of "divers evill disposed persons inhabitinge within this citty and elsewhere who have receaved such plundered goodes and cattle, and buy or otherwise obtaine the same att under values." In the same draft is a proclamation also against the practice of divers persons of the city of Chester, who buy of the King's poorer and more improvident soldiers the stockings, shoes and other apparel delivered to the same soldiers for their clothing equipment [Letter Book].

It is therefore no matter of surprise that an Assembly Order should be passed Friday, December 1, 1643, in which it was agreed by general consent that £100 worth of the City's ancient plate should be delivered to Lord Capel for his Majesty's service *on condition* " that the souldiers be removed forth of this Cittie to quarters else whiere by Monday next [A.O. 599]." A receipt is given for this plate, December 7, 1643 [Harl. 2135].

1643, 7 December.

Received the day and yeare above written of the Maior and Aldermen of ye Cittye of Chester foure hundred ounces of guilt plate by way of advance or contribution to the pay and provision of and for the forces arrived from Ireland and now in His Maties service in these partes.—Arthur Capell.

1643, December 16.

Received 400 ounces of Guilt Plate.—Brian Pretious.

About this time fresh reinforcements from Ireland landed in Chester, under the command of Colonel Robert Byron, a brother of Lord Byron, and Colonel Henry Warren.

1643. February.

An Irish soldier was hanged on the gibbett for killing his fellow souldier desperately in Ran. Ashbrook's house, Taylor, in Estgate Street.

1643. March 17.

Another soldier was hanged for making a mutiny on Saboth day; about same time an other souldier was hanged at two mills of the heath for the like offence.

William Wilcock, a rich man in lands, goods, plate, etc., who was sheriff 1637, for what reason is not knowne, but some inward discontent, arose in the night from his wife out of bed and willfully drowned himselfe in a well of his owne in his backside, his goods and personall estate after crowners quest found him *felo de se*. The sheriff did sease on all his houshold goods, plate, corne for citty's use according to charter and sould the same. This contentious person against the Mayor, Citty and privileges of the City could come to no better end [Harl. MSS., 2125, 320].

Two days after Christmas, Lord Byron defeated the Parliamentarians between Middlewich and Northwich,[21] but

[21] S. Mary's Churchwardens' Accounts—" Paid for ringinge for joy of the Victory neere Middlewich on St. Steven's Day, iis vid."

suffered himself a serious repulse in his attempt on Nantwich, "losing many brave soldiers and commanders, besides many cartloads brought to Chester that were wounded and maimed."

On January 12th, Col. Mytton surprised and defeated at Ellesmere a large party of Royalists who had been sent from Chester to Shrewsbury to fetch arms and ammunition for carrying on the defence. Sir Nicholas Byron, among others, was taken prisoner. He was succeeded by his nephew, Lord Byron, as Governor of Chester.

1643-4, February 21, Chester.—John Lord Byron, to Dep. Lts of Flint.

Order that horses be provided for a regiment arrived from Ireland, many of their horses having been lost on the passage. [Puleston MSS., 308].

List of the prisoners taken in the rout of the Royalists before Nantwich, January 25, 1643-4, enclosed in a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax to the Earl of Essex.

Major-General Gibson
Sir Michael Ernely
Sir Richard Fleetwood
Col. George Monk
Col. Warren
Sir Francis Butler, lieut.-col.
Sir Ralph Done
Major Hammond
14 Captains
20 Lieutenants
26 Ensigns
2 Cornets
2 Quarter-masters
Mr. Sherlock, Chaplain to a Regiment
41 Serjeants
40 Drummers
4 Canoneers
22 Colours
1,500 Common Soldiers
6 Ordnance, whereof five Brass
20 Carriages and divers Wagons
120 Women that followed the Camp; of whom many had long knives, with which they were said to have done mischief

[Rushworth, pt. iii., vol. ii., 302.]

Lt.-col. Boughton and Capt. Thomas Sandford were killed in scaling the mud-walls at Nantwich—their bodies were brought to Chester, and with others deposited in the "great aisle of St. Wyburgh's" [Harl. MS. 2125, fol. 125].

## CHAPTER III.

### Prince Rupert.

After this disaster the King's supporters were for the time very hopeless until the arrival of Prince Rupert, who entered Chester on Monday, March 11th.[22] The streets were lined with soldiers, the justices of the peace appeared in scarlet robes, the sheriffs in their best habit, the aldermen in mulberry, and the other civic dignities in the robes of their several offices; while the Prince, accompanied by the Lord Byron and others on horseback, rode up and was met at the Cross by Randle Holme, the Mayor, who, owing to his lameness (having " been ill of a payne in his legg ") came in a coach. The Mayor addressed the Prince in a becoming speech, welcoming him amongst them, and offering him what poor entertainment they could give him, which would not be what he deserved, owing to the reduced state of the city; and prayed him to ease the citizens of the free billeting of soldiers, which had been so very burthensome to them. This speech the Prince " took very kindly," and at its conclusion the people gave a shout for joy. The Prince answered graciously, ungloved his hand for the Mayor to kiss, and so went to Mr. John Aldersey's house in Watergate Street, where he rested, having previously asked the Mayor and his brethren to come to him on the morrow. The outspoken words of the Mayor do not appear to have been approved of by " his brethren " and the justices of the peace, wherefore they refused to call upon Rupert in the morning; and inasmuch as the Mayor's "payne in his legg" had increased during the night, whereby he was incapacitated from going himself, he seems to have amused himself at home by writing an explanation of his speech; and the Prince, with Lord Byron and others, rode about the city and

[22] Paid for ringinge at the cominge in of Prince Rupertt, March 11th, 1643, iis vid." *Ibid.*

From an etching in the Sutherland Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

inspected the mud-walls, the castle, and the other works which had been effected for its defence [Harl. MSS., 2125, fol. 320].

Portions of the old trenches made in 1642 were abandoned and new lines sited and cut to greater advantage. The escarpments were deepened and widened and the parapets raised in order to provide complete cover for the defenders. A number of new mounts were made in the vicinity of Cowlane and a trench cut in " the Rock without the Northgate beyond Dutton's turnpike," this last probably being the site of the present Rocky lane.

In the meantime, notwithstanding all this excitement and bustle in military affairs, the city business was conducted with quiet confidence under Mr. Randle Holme, jun., the Mayor. The city records tell us how the vacancies in " the 40 " caused by death were duly filled; how various applications for the freedom of the city were dealt with, being granted : three for £20, or five £10, £5 or £3 6s. 8d. " with such fees as are due for Bucketts and other duties thereunto belonging "; how other applications for admission were denied or deferred; the Sunday afternoon preacher at St. Peter's and the Friday lecturer appointed ; leases of shops in different parts of the city granted. It is noteworthy that attention was given to sanitary requirements, and the cleansing of the streets [A.O. 614]. Two aldermen were appointed as a deputation to acquaint Lord Byron " of the noysomeness of the puddle neere the Eastgate and to move his honour that the same may be stopped up " [A.O. 613]. Consideration was paid even to regulations for the dignified conduct of public business. Citizens were ordered (May 24, 1644) to appear at Assemblies " in their Gownes and Liveries according to their several degrees and callings, and such fynes as are forfeited by any heretofore offending in that behalfe are hereby remitted in hopes of their future conformitie to the orders of this house " [A.O. 616]. None the less, the stern business of defending the city is in no wise neglected. A levy is made by order of the Assembly July 19, 1644, " towards the reparation of the Mudwalls,"

to be paid weekly until further order to the contrary, and assessed according to the quality of the citizens [A.O. 624]; and a further sum of £50 to be spent on " the speedie repairing of the Cittie Gates, making of perculles, cleansing of the diche by the Eastgate," etc. [A.O. 625]. Two months later, September 3rd, it was ordered that £100 a week (for 6 weeks) required for the maintenance of the Garrison, should be raised, £60 by assessment on the free citizens and ancient inhabitants, and £40 " upon such nobilitie, gentrie, clergie and others which are come for protection into this Citie." It is directed that in making the assessment, regard should be had to " such as have most gainful trading in the city, whereby the poor may be eased in these assessments " [A.O. 628]. The work on the mud-walls was to be carried out under the supervision of the Treasurers and arrangements were made for the importation of coals from Flintshire by water and land [A.O. 629].

Assembly. Tuesday, September 3.

By general consent it was ordered that Mr. William Sparke and Mr. William Ince, aldermen, shall be auditors to take and receive the Muringers accompts to this present, and likewise ye accompts of Alderman Holme the elder, concerning his disbursements, on the citties behalfe, towards the entertainment of his highness Prince Rupert; as also his accompts of what he hath disbursed for repayring the mudwalles of this cittie [A.O. 627]. . . . .

And lastly Mr. John Adlington and others of the inhabitants neere the Eastgate preferred theire peticon thierby shewing that since the erecting of the drawe bridge att the same gate, the said petitioners sellers (when any raine falls) are drowned and such noysome smell proceed thierby that they are not able to abide in theire houses, much lesses to make use of theire said sellers, and the reason is that the drawe bridge ditch is dampned and choaked up with filth, having no way to evacuate, and thierfore they humbly besought this Assembly that some course might be thought upon whierby the defects aforesaid might bee amended for prevention of infection; which peticon beeing taken into consideracon it was by general consent ordered that the said ditch shalbe cleansed and a percullis made for the Eastgate aforesaid; And for to oversee the said works, Mr. Robert Harvie, alderman, is by this house desired to take the paines : and thierin to follow such directions as he shall receive from the Governor of this cittie [A.O. 631].

It will be helpful to put on record here a short reference to the movements of Prince Rupert at this period.

Whilst the Prince was at Chester he was beset with applications for aid from all quarters. The most pressing appeal came from the Earl of Derby, whose brave Countess was defying the Parliamentarians of Lancashire at Lathom House, and for whom he in person vainly petitioned help. Rupert considered that Lathom could hold out yet awhile, and that other business of the King's was more pressing.

On March 13th Prince Rupert left Chester for Newark, which he succeeded in relieving on the 21st. After this brilliant achievement, he went back in a few days to Wales to raise an army. Early in May he is off again, like a meteor, on his way to relieve York, marching from Shrewsbury on May 16th, through Whitchurch, Market Drayton, Sandbach, and Knutsford. On the 19th he writes from Whitchurch to the Mayor of Chester appointing William Legge, Governor of Chester, and on the 23rd, "Mr. Mainwaring certifies to Randle Holme, Prince Rupert's pleasure that Handbridge be forthwith levelled to the ground and that none be permitted to build or repair any houses" [Harl. 2135].

On May 25th he seized Stockport; three days after, with Lord Derby at his side, he stormed Bolton, and thence despatched a messenger to the Lady of Lathom House with twenty-two standards which had lately waved over the heads of her besiegers. Then through Wigan he advanced upon Liverpool, which he captured on June 11th, the greater part of the garrison having taken ship and sailed away out of his reach, for he was not in the mood to spare any, and his track is said to have been marked with more than usual blood and desolation.

From Liverpool he sends orders under the same date commanding the Mayor and Aldermen of Chester to "make a rate for the maintenance and pay of the soldiers and officers of the Regiment of the City, and also of the Officers and mynisters of the Garrison and to pay the moneys to their Governor" [Harl. 2135].

By June 30th he had reached Knaresborough, about twelve miles from York, and on July 2nd his victorious progress was checked by the disastrous defeat on Marston Moor.

A draft Commission dated July 10, 1644, is extant, appointing Sir Michael Ernley temporary Commander-in-Chief in North Wales, Cheshire and Salop during the absence of the Prince and Lord Byron [*Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd Ser., 4914].

The citizens busied themselves also in more peaceful occupation. " April 1, 1644. The body of William, Earl of Derby, that dyed September 24, 1642, and all that while had stood in his own house at Dee Side where he dyed was translated to S. Werburgh's Church and sett in one of the Confession houses on backside the quire on the south side under the seate where he usually sat to heare divine service at the back of the bishopp seate : his body beinge in a coffer of leade to stand there till more peaceable times to be conveyed to the Church in Lancashire where his ancestors are interred " [Harl. 2125, fol. 320].

The " more peaceable times " adverted to by the annalist did not come until the surrender of the city, one of the conditions as it was formulated Jan. 30, 1645-6, being " All the dead bodyes uninterred to be delivered if demanded within eight weeks, not any of them to be attended with above twenty horse." In the Articles of Surrender finally signed, the ninth article stipulates " That the friends of the Earls of Derby and Lichfield or any of those whose dead bodies are not yet interred in Chester shall have two month time to fetch them thence whither they please, provided that none of them come attended with above twenty horses."

The people of Chester naturally followed the rapid and apparently irresistible march of the fiery Prince with unflagging interest, and, after the example of God's servants of old, brought their trouble and anxiety as well as their thankfulness before the throne of grace. " 22 May, beinge Tuesday," writes the Chester annalist,

was a general fast in the great Church kept for the prosperity of Prince Rupert's army being advanced towards Cheshire and

thence to Lancaster. 6 June, being Thursday, was a Thanksgiving Sermon made to God in St Werburges for this victory of Prince Rupert [the taking of Bolton, May 28]. The bells range and bonfires were made at almost every dore for joy of his highness good successe. The Sermon was preached by one Mr. Raulinson [Harl. 2125].

So in the Churchwardens Accounts of St. Marys :—

" Paid for ringeinge the 25th March for joy of the victory by Prince Rupertt over the enemy at the siege of Newarke by special command of Maior and Governor ... ... ... iijs iiijd

Sir William Brereton's letters to the Committee of both Kingdoms, dated Nantwich, August 2 and 3, 1644, give his account of what was being done by this untamed warrior a few weeks later [S.P. Dom.]

Prince Rupert's forces, which consisted mainly of horse and dragoons, were quartered some on the other side of the Dee in Wales, and a small contingent at Tarvin under command of Colonel Marrow. The Prince himself occupied the Bishop's palace, and busied himself during his short stay in impressing men for the infantry, which had suffered much at Marston Moor. He continued his plans for fortifying the city, which included the demolition of Eastgate and Northgate Streets, Cowlane and the northern suburbs. This, doubtless an unpalatable suggestion, was not carried out, but sore feeling was produced by an attempt to exact an " excise, which," observes Brereton " gives mighty offence, being almost double that settled by Parliament. This has naturally caused a reaction amongst those who were most vehement in their cause."

1644, August 2, Nantwich.

Prince Rupert's residence is at the present in Chester where great preparation is made for his housekeeping, intimating therein his intended stay there.

His horse out of Lancashire consisting of about 5,000 horse and dragoons are quartered on the other side of Dee in Wales and Col. Marrow with his forces of horse about 800 lies near Tarvin. The Prince's foot are yet but few but he presses new men daily in all parts within the verge of his command for the recruiting of his losses at the late battle near York [Marston

Moor, July 2, 1644]. He keeps himself yet quiet in Chester without troubling of us, quartering somewhat remote thence, but the assured loss of all his carriages and especially the want of gunpowder and ammunition we find to be the cause. We hear the enemy expect a supply of these out of the magazine in Dublin. Considerable reinforcements are needed. All the several parts of the Counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Salop, Staffordshire, and North Wales now under the power of Parliament, if all conjoined, are not able to raise 1500 horse for present service.

1644, August 3, Nantwich.

Prince Rupert is fortifying Chester, and, as some say, is erecting his Court there in the Bishops palace where provision is making for his entertainment and housekeeping. Great impressing of men and almost as great a number running away from them. They are consulting about pulling down East and Northgate streets, the Cowlane and the northern suburbs, which are almost half the city. They have likewise attempted to exact and settle an excise which gives mighty offence, being almost double that settled by Parliament. This has naturally caused a reaction amongst those who were most vehement in their cause who now repine and murmur against them, thus supplying a good preparative for the welcoming thither of those who desired rather that they should be reformed and reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament than ruined and spoiled [S.P. Dom.]

The " reaction " to which Brereton refers is noticed in Harl. 2125, as being so marked that the Mayor, Randle Holme, junr., caused all citizens of every ward to report themselves on the Roodee with their arms.

About 10 June the King made proclamation for the taking of excise on severall commodities bought or sould. There was much dissatisfaction. . . . So the Mayor caused all citizens of every ward with their ward to bring all citizens inhabitants and others with all their armes to Roodee—the soldiers keeping strict watch in mean season at the outworks. The Royalists came willingly, the suspected malignants came creaping to shew themselves, more for fear than love. The whole citizens set on by the sayd malignants called on the maior much to desist further prosecution of the said proclamation of excise—he promised to represent their desires. At same time came a runner that Sir W. Brereton and his forces were coming again and nigh the town which caused each man with all expedition to his ward and guard, but the alarm proved false.

Some days before August 21st, Brereton and Sir Thomas Myddelton, who were at Northwich, marched thence to Frodsham, where they expected to find the enemy, thinking that their design was for Lancashire. Finding them not, they crossed Delamere Forest, which was not then so contracted as it is now, and came to Ashton, where they received definite intelligence that the Cavaliers were at Tarvin. Thither they at once proceeded, and on their way they came upon some of Marrow's men, who had been sent out as scouts. These they pursued to Tarvin, where they fell upon the body of the enemy and worsted them. Some of the latter fled into the church, and others betook themselves to Chester. The latter were followed with good effect by Colonel Sankey, and the attack upon the church was left to Colonel Jones. Many prisoners were made, some were slain, and a number of horse were captured. Colonel Marrow himself was mortally wounded, and died as soon as he was taken back to Chester. This officer, even by those who were opposed to him, is spoken of in high terms as a gallant soldier. He had come from Ireland in the previous December, and what made his death at this time especially sad was the fact that he had " married a wife with a good fortune " but three weeks before. Chester was frightened at this ill-luck, and the military authorities there saw that they would be placed in great danger if they did not stem the enemy's progress. Two regiments of horse, or according to another account, about 800 horse and foot, went out next morning to avenge Marrow's death. Brereton and Myddelton, expecting that they would be attacked, were in readiness to receive their opponents. A desperate fight ensued, and in the end the Royalists gave way and fled, having sustained a loss of about 400 men, of whom 300 were slain, the rest being made prisoners. In all the Parliamentary newspapers Prince Rupert is stated to have been engaged in this fight. But it is tolerably certain that the Prince was not in Chester at this time, for Colonel William Legge, the Governor of Chester, writing on the 22nd August—the very day upon which the second battle was fought—to " his most dear

Prince," states that " the night your Highness lay at Ruthin, Marrow's horse were beaten." The Lord Byron also gives an account of that action, which, he says, took place " on the spot where your Highness killed the buck as the horse were drawing out." Had the Prince taken part in the fight there would have been no occasion for these letters. According to Legge he was at Ruthin at the time, and this is confirmed by a pamphlet published on the 27th August, which states that Rupert had gone to Ruthin for fear of the Earl of Manchester, rumours of whose advance towards Chester had been prevalent for several days. The defeat was so serious that Prince Rupert gave up all idea of going back to Chester.

The Committee of both Kingdoms, upon Brereton's report of Prince Rupert's activity, at once directed the Earl of Manchester to march against Prince Rupert with all his available force, and follow him wherever he should go. Manchester replies, August 10th, giving reasons in which he is supported by his officers, why he should not do as he was ordered. The Committee repeated their orders, August 21st, bidding Manchester send off at least a small party of horse to assist Sir William Brereton. Manchester's reluctance to try conclusions with Prince Rupert was at length overcome, but on September 2nd, when arrangements had been made for the dispatch of a body of cavalry, the order was countermanded, as Prince Rupert turned south with the greater part of his army [S.P. Dom]. He did not, however, get off scatheless. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with some 3,000 horse, having quitted Cumberland, passed through Lancashire, where he was much harassed. When he entered Cheshire his strength scarcely exceeded a third of the number he originally started with. He was met at Malpas, August 26th, by Col. Jones, whose force only comprised about 800 men. Notwithstanding the disparity in number, Col. Jones did considerable execution; but he would doubtless have been worsted were it not for Brereton's timely appearance. Even with this reinforcement they numbered less than the Royalists. The latter, however, lost several of their officers, which disheartened the soldiers. So they beat a retreat to

Chester instead of pursuing the road to Shrewsbury as they intended. Sir Marmaduke was himself wounded. Two colonels and three majors were slain, and several other officers made prisoners. The Committee wrote to Essex, September 5th, with some glee that " Sir William Brereton has lately encountered forces that were with Prince Rupert and has slain and taken divers of their principal officers, among whom was Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the party in chief, wounded dangerously and carried to Chester, without losing a single man of his. This was about Malpas. The rest of Rupert's forces, about 2,000 horse [he left York with 6,000 horse], are marched through Wales towards Bristol " [S.P. Dom.]

Randle Holme's valedictory address on going out of his office of Mayoralty is interesting :—

Gentlemen—I am glad of this yeare's period that I am come to give you of the commons thanks for your election, you of the howse or counsell thankes for your approbation, and you of the bench thankes for your confirmation of this great honour on me to be your magistrate beinge farr unworthy thereof : which honour brought a great burden with it in respect of the tymes troblesomness : for what my predecessors only or with the finger touched I have heavily felt, but by God's mercy have ran through the same, although with many an akinge hart : for to see our anntient plate diminished, our benefactors' money exhausted, the cittizens estates impoverished, our suburbs fired and cittizens oppressed (the necessity of the tymes requiring it and I much greeved I could not remedy it) only our comfort was, it was for a good Kinge and in a good cause ; and though in all things I could not do what I would, yet I have done what I promised in performance of my lialty and preservation of this citty for his Majesty, and hope my successor will doe the same to whom I leave the citty and privileges in good order ; the stone and mud walls in good condition far better than I found them ; and as a dying man I bequeath my staffe, place and authority to you and you to God, and God give you much joy and peace therein to God's glory, the Kinge's honour and tranquillity of the citty and so I take my leave [Harl. MSS., 2125, 318].

In October Brereton had his quarters at Stanney and Great Neston, and was busy in fortifying Hooton House, keeping an eye meanwhile on what was occurring about

Liverpool, which ultimately surrendered to Sir John Meldrum on November 1st.

9 November, 1644, being Saturday in the forenoone the gibbet was by the Lo: Bishoppe's meanes removed from the Abbey Gate field to the side of the pillory by the cornmarket house. Four souldiers with papers on their brests were hanged, whereon was written in text letters *Theis men dye for trechery in betrayinge of Liverpoole* [Harl 2125, 320].

As the force under his command was not sufficient for very vigorous measures, Brereton seems to have amused himself by giving the Royalists "strong and frequent alarms, taking away cattle from their very works."

Thus October 28, 1644, he reports—

Upon Thursday last we took above 100 cattle, when their horse and foot issued out to rescue them, but were beaten back with the loss of two cornets Hopton and Slegge, and several men slain, besides seven taken and twelve horses, without any loss on our side. On Saturday a party of our men fro Tarvin took away divers cattle belonging to Governor of Beeston Castle, and enticed the enemy into an ambuscade, killing several and taking seventeen prisoners, whereof one was an ensign, besides thirty stand of arms, without the loss of one man. On Monday the enemy, whose strength begins to increase, issued out of Chester against our guard at Backford, but were beaten back with one lieutenant of horse taken prisoner. Our garrison at Tarvin is in good forwardness, and we proceed with all expedition in fortifying Hooton in Wirral. The enemy is raising all the forces possible in Wales, with which they hope to be able to struggle with us until the arrival of the forces expected to come down with the Prince [Rupert] from the King's Army, which is not to be doubted is a great part of their care.

1644. October 30. Conway.—Archbishop of York to the Marquis of Ormond.

Chester was set upon on Monday last, and the outworks entered but regained again. Fourteen of the enemy killed, [but they] are not retired far from the works. It is thought that that city is full of disaffected persons, and certain [it is] that they do not love their present Governor [Legge] as it is also that the enemy knows too well what little accord there is between Legge and the Prince's creatures with that poor Lord [Capel] who commands, or should command in chief in these parts. A most worthy man, but unfortunately matched in his Government.

God Almighty bless your Excellency in all your endeavours, and I do, and shall ever, remain

Your Excellency's most humble and obliged servant,

JO. EBORAC.[23]

[Carte's *Collection of Letters*, i., 67.]

1644, November 2. Sir William Brereton to Committee of Both Kingdoms.

The town of Liverpool is now recovered. Many of the muskets, trunks, treasures and best goods were being conveyed away by boat to Beaumaris, but some long boats were sent from our ships and seized upon them. Amongst them were very many commanders. Now that Newcastle is reduced, if there may be assigned 3,000 or 4,000 Scots towards the taking in of Chester and clearing these parts I doubt not a good account may be given thereof, and a small army may be expected to do much more service now before they are strengthened and recruited than the whole army hereafter. I shall not think fit to urge this any further but humbly submit myself herein to your Honours. P.S.—The character [cipher] sent by the last express I cannot understand, or make any use therof, having no key sent me, otherwise none should be more faithful in observance than myself [S.P. Dom.].

[23] John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, 1621, translated to York, 1642.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Brereton begins the Leaguer. Prince Maurice. The Siege Resumed. Withdrawal.

EARLY in December, Brereton began the leaguer of Chester, posting garrisons at Aldford, Tarvin, Hawarden, Trafford, Upton Hall, and other places within three or four miles of the city, to prevent the importation of provisions. In January, 1644-5, they were obliged to draw closer in, Colonel Jones and Major Lowthian having a strong force at Christleton "which they secured by mud-walls" [Harl. 2155, 24], and later another detachment on the Welsh side at Dodleston and Lache.

1644-5, January 16, Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton.

The garrison of Chester have been lately more active than formerly, and have fallen upon some of our quarters and taken twenty or thirty men besides horses at several times, which we have not been able to retaliate because none of them are quartered on this side the Dee except those within the walls of Chester and Beeston Castle.

1644-5, January 17. Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton to Committee of both Kingdoms.

In order to secure our quarters against the enemy we have therefore advanced nearer to it. Lt. Col. Long and Major Louthiane being now at Christleton and a little above a mile from the city's works with my regiments of horse and foot which will be a mighty annoyance and vexation to the besieged if we can maintain the same. Beeston Castle is every day more and more distressed so, unless speedily relieved, I hope a good account may be given thereof. If the force we are expecting come to our aid to make good the Welsh side, I hope to give a good account of Chester and all these parts. Care that no forces from King's army be suffered to approach. [S.P. Dom.]

The citizens began, January 18, 1644-5, to feel the pinch, and determined to beat up the Parliamentary quarters at Christleton and burn the town. According to Brereton, there was also an intention of relieving Beeston Castle, which

was now hard pressed. The design was projected by Lord Byron, who went with the horse then in the city, the force employed numbering 1,500 well-appointed troops. The writer of the account in Harl. 2135, declares that " it was ill-managed, the rebells had notifie ere the design was effected and were in readiness for encounter. They trifled so long in Chester that ere the body wrought the Barrs their forlorn hope was cut off, about 180 taken prisoners, Col. Wyrden, L^t^ Humphrys, Coll. Vayne. The pace was so slow, a march rather for May show than a warlike expedition. The blew-cotes ran ere they shott, and flange away their drumes, wheling toward the waterside to save themselves."

Brereton was not to be caught napping—in truth, he appears to have been constantly supplied with intelligence, perhaps from his great popularity with the Cheshire folk. His report to the Committee of both Kingdoms is interesting :—

1644-5, January 18, Nantwich.—

This day twelve months Nantwich assaulted and Byron repulsed. These lines may present you with the success of this day when the Lord did work wonderfully and fight for us to the amazement and discomfiture of the enemy.

This day, about two o'clock, the enemy issued out of Chester intending to fall upon our quarters and so break through in order to relieve Beeston Castle. For which purpose, uniting about 800 foot and 300 horse, they prepared a strong ambuscade through which our horse charging very resolutely fell fiercely upon their horse which were placed in the rear of their ambuscade, routed them, slew many, and performed great execution even until they [the enemy] entered the gates. We have taken more than 200 prisoners, amongst whom are two cols, two lieut-cols, and ten other officers, besides good store of horses and arms. The foot led on by Adj^t^ [Major] Louthiane performed gallant service, they came on valiantly, beat the enemy from their ambuscade, slew many of them almost within the range of their cannon which saved them from being so totally taken and slain as otherwise they would have been. Lieut.-Col. Jones led on the horse with much judgment, valour, and success. I do not hear of any of our commanding officers being slain, but Capt. [John] Blackwell is missing and Capt. Zanchie who is a very valiant man and commands my own

troop being without his arms was wounded but it is hoped not mortally. This may have a good effect on Beeston Castle, and we will endeavour to improve time and advantage by all means in our power. [S.P. Dom.]

Malbon states that on Sunday night, January 26th, some forces marched towards Chester with intent to storm the city, but that on reaching the outworks between four and five the following morning they found, by the light of their match, the walls [? works] well guarded with soldiers. They had been betrayed by one of their own soldiers, were subjected to heavy musket fire, but retired without loss [*Civil War in Cheshire*, p. 159].

Lord Byron, writing to Sir John Owen, the Governor of Conway, on January 27th, complains of "having made journies and written volumes of letters to Wales, and only received promises but no performance to help to relieve Chester." He makes another appeal, stating that the garrison is weak [Brogyntyn MSS.].

The civic authorities themselves were forced, January 31, 1644-5, to order £100 of the ancient plate of the city to be converted into coin for the expenses of the defence [A.O. 636]. This was made an occasion of an action against Mr. Charles Walley, Mayor, and Mr. Randle Holme, junr. [A.O. 714]. At the same Assembly an assessment of £160 was ordered to be levied "by £20 a weeke for perfecting the works, providing match, coals and candles and other necessaries for the use of the garrison. Of this sum £15 a week was to be levied on the citizens, and £5 on the strangers [A.O. 637]. An order was also made at the same Assembly that "inasmuch as diverse of the inhabitants of the city had refused to pay" the assessment ordered on July 19th, and September 3rd, the arrears should be collected forthwith, as well as the arrears of the assessment [A.O. 638], for the gift to the King on his visit to Chester [A.O. 640]. Four days before (Monday, January 27th) an attempt was made by Brereton to storm the outworks. "The Mayor caused that day a generall fast to be kept in four Churches, S$^{t}$ Werburg, S$^{t}$ Peters, S$^{t}$ Johns and S$^{t}$ Maryes." "The same morning about 6 o'clock, an

*Cyril H. Lodge, Photo.*

Charles I Half-crown.

(Enlarged 3 : 2)

*Obv.* CAROLVS D. G. MAG. BRI. FR. ET HIR. REX. *Rev.* CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO.

Showing the three garbs and sword erect, and the initials C H S T, the marks of the Chester Mint.
This coin, minted in 1643-4 from the Corporation plate melted down, is in the British Museum.
(See Assembly Order 636, page 72.)

alarm was given at the Northgate Turnpike gate. The rebels came with scaling ladders to scale the walls, but they had so hot a breakfast as divers went with bullets for concoction which hindered their drinking ever after. Eight lode of scaling ladders were brought but two served of them, for ere any more could be brought, they were forced to leave these behind them with two muskets, three swords, one corslett, given to Sir Francis Gamull the City Coll: and Dep^y Governor under Lord Byron, and were set at High Cross to be viewed " [Harl. 2125].

How pathetic this conjunction of hard fighting with humble devotion in prayer and fasting! Let us turn to the besiegers' account of the same occurrence.

1644-5. February 3, Nantwich.—Sir W. Brereton to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

27 Jan. before daybreak we prepared and attempted to storm the outworks of Chester, but failed to enter: nevertheless we escaped without damage though our body of horse stood within musket shot and the foot within pistol shot of their works, yet not one man was wounded or taken. On 29th ult I sent a strong party of horse and foot under Lt-Col. Coote which marched through the adjoining parts of Wales, where they saw no enemy and possessed themselves of Holt bridge which is a passage of much consequence. They brought back good store of cattle out of the enemy's quarters including sixty or eighty fit for slaughter which will be very serviceable to our garrisons. Prince Maurice at Worcester and expected to relieve Chester—which much encourages the enemy.

Advises effort to prevent Maurice gaining head.

The Committee forthwith acted upon this advice, showing how keenly they realised the peril of the situation. On February 7th they direct Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, to send with all expedition into Cheshire 500 horse, or more if he can spare them, to oppose Maurice's progress; also to the Committee at Leicester to send 100 horse; to the Committee at Warwick 150 horse; Derby 300; Stafford, Lancashire, and Salop, each 100 horse and 200 foot.

Meanwhile Brereton maintained his quarters at Christleton on the Cheshire side, with a larger body at Wrexham to watch Wales. A detachment was posted at Farndon to keep in the Royalist garrison in Holt Castle, and further he

" endeavoured to make the best advantage of the time " (as he terms it) by marching up and down the counties of Flint and Denbigh, in order to scatter the forces collected there and intended to join Prince Maurice's army.

1644-5, February 10. Wrexham.—Sir William Brereton.

Still maintain quarters at Christleton on Cheshire side, and at Wrexham in Wales, but expect every hour to hear of Maurice's advance.

In meantime endeavoured to make the best advantage of time by marching up and down counties Flint and Denbigh in order to scatter the forces collected therein and intended to join with the Prince's army. These are three or four thousand in number, but the greater part being unarmed they fled on our advance first to Ruthin and then to Denbigh.

We have divided the few men we have here, locating the greater part at Wrexham, another party at Farndon to secure that passage and keep in the enemy's garrison in Holt Castle, another is quartered at Christleton on the Cheshire side and we still maintain the siege of Beeston Castle, which we hope cannot hold out long [S.P. Dom.]

These precautions, so energetically devised and carried out, were of no avail in stopping Prince Maurice's advance, which resulted in raising the siege, February 19, 1644-5. He was not in quite a position to attempt the relief of Beeston, but ordered Col. Robinson, the Governor of Holt Castle, to make an attempt, which was done accordingly, but without success, Brereton defeating them and killing Col. Owen, one of their officers. For three weeks the Prince lay between Chester and Maylor [in Flintshire] plundering and impoverishing the country extremely,[24] and during his short visit he assisted materially in arranging for the future defence of the city. The outworks were brought within a shorter compass for the convenience of the garrison; Great Boughton and Christleton were burnt down in revenge for treachery; and the chapel of St. John without the Northgate, together with the rest of the buildings belonging to the hospital, was razed to the ground, lest the enemy should find shelter there [Appendix I., p. 222].

[24] Wm. Maurice's MS. in *Arch. Camb.*, i. 39. His brother, Prince Rupert, had reached Ludlow, March 11, hoping to join Maurice, and raise the siege of Beeston Castle.

The Prince on the last of February, being Friday, caused "a solemn fast to be kept in the quier [of St. Werburgh], St. Peters and St. Maries, and was at quier both fore and afternoone" [Harl. 2125]. He also directed a test to be tendered on March 4th, to all the inhabitants of the city, protesting against the Rebellion against the King, and declaring their resolve to defend his cause with life and fortune, and their abhorrence of "the damnable and late invented covenant, commonly called the National Covenant."

To the Mayor of the city of Chester, Sir Francis Gamull, Sir William Manwaring, Lieut.-Col. Robinson, Alderman Thomas Cowper, Lieut.-Col. Grosvenor, Colonel Mostyn, Captain Thomas Thropp, Captain Morgell, or to any two of them:—These are to will, authorize, and require you, or any two of you, to administer the protestation hereunto annexed, lately made for the security of this city, to all the nobility, gentry, divines, citizens, and all other the inhabitants of this city; and to all and every the officers, soldiers, and others, that shall come into or have any commerce within the said city. And in case any person or persons refuse, deny, and will not take the same, you are hereby required to give in a list of the names of all and every person so refusing, unto me. Herein you are not to fail. Given at Chester, under my hand and seal at arms, this 4th day of March, 1644.

MAURICE.

THE PROTESTATION.

I, A. B., do vow and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I believe in my heart that the Earl of Essex, Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton and Mr. Thomas Mutton, and all their party and adherents, are in actual rebellion against the King, and that I will with myself, life, and fortune, and to the utmost of my power, maintain and defend his Majesty's cause against the said rebels, and all others who are now in arms without his Majesty's express consent and command; and that I will not give, nor by any privity and consent suffer to be given, any aid, assistance, or intelligence to the aforesaid rebels, or any of their parties, to the prejudice of the safety of this city of Chester, to the betraying of it, or any forces, castles, garrisons, or forts under his Majesty's express command and government, or any of his dominions, into the said rebels hands or power. And I do likewise from my soul abhor the taking of the damnable and late invented

Covenant, commonly called the National Covenant, enpressed by the rebels upon many of his Majesty's subjects; and to all that I have protested I call God to witness, believing that I cannot be absolved by any power, mental reservation, or equivocation, from this my vow and protestation. So help me God, and by the contents of this book.[24] [Pigott's *Chester*, pp. 297-8].

Whilst in Chester he is reputed to have invented a new-fashioned bridge of a sort never seen before in England. He placed a boat on each side of the river Dee, and fastened cords to them from one side to the other; and upon the cord laid strong canvas drawn out and stretched so stiff and hard, and which was so firm, that three men could walk abreast on it.[25]

The Parliamentary Committee were greatly alarmed at his success and the news of possible support from Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and also from Prince Rupert, who had reached Ludlow, March 11th, hoping to join Maurice and raise the siege of Beeston Castle. For ten days (March 11th to 21st) they are busy despatching orders hither and thither, to Lord Fairfax, General Leslie, General Crawford, to the Committees at Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, and Lancashire, to "send with all expedition what forces they can spare to oppose the Prince's progress." Crawford is desired " to march with the horse, for the relief of Brereton, not waiting for the two regiments of foot for whom money is providing." " Persuade the foot if you can," they add, "to march along with you and money will be sent after them." Brereton receives from the Committee (March 17th) the comforting assurance that the reinforcements he had so repeatedly and hitherto vainly begged for were to be granted. " Four regiments of Scottish horse and 2,000 foot are upon their march to your assistance under General David Leslie."

[24] In the Churchwarden's Accounts for St. John's is the entry:—
Paid for the book to take the names of those that took the test ... ... ... ... ... ... 00 00 06
Canon Cooper Scott's *Hist. of St. John Baptist*, p. 76.

[25] From an article by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August, 1894, Mr. Fortescue's authority being an old newspaper of March, 1645.

1644-5. March 11.—Committee to Lord Fairfax.

Information that Sir Marmaduke Langdale is marched towards Cheshire to join Prince Maurice. Observe his motions and if he shall march that way, Sir W. Brereton will be in danger by so many united forces. In that case send after him [Langdale] all the forces you can spare. [S.P. Dom.]

Prince Maurice left Chester on March 13th. The Parliamentarians at once (March 19th) resumed their siege, taking up positions at Eccleston, Dodleston, Pulford, and " as near as Netherlegh from whence, the 7th of April being Monday in Easter Week, 1645, they gave an alarm at the further Bridge House, and pillaged Handbridge."[27]

They were however, stoutly repulsed without loss to the citizens, but Handbridge was burned by Lord Byron's command " to prevent the enemy nesting there, as were all the Glovers' houses under the Walls by Dee Side and the houses without the Watergate."

Additional supplies of money were called for. A sum of £40 out of delinquents' estates had been granted on February 18th for the support of Prince Rupert's foot regiment then " resident in the Garrison," the levy, for the first time being intrusted to the soldiers to collect [A.O. 641, 642]. On the proposition of the Mayor, Mr. Charles Walley, April 8th it was ordered [A.O. 644] that an assessment should be made of £20 a week (for eight weeks), on the inhabitants " for the better fortification of the garrison and making a drawbridge at the Bridge Gate."

Four days later, April 12th, Lord Byron wrote to the Sheriffs and Commissioners of Array of the Counties of North Wales directing them to have troops ready at an hour's notice to aid the Prince in the relief of the city [Brogyntyn MSS.]. At this time Sir Edmund Verney was Deputy Governor [Verney MSS.].

Fresh provisions in the city were very scarce and dear (though the Parliamentary forces were no better off in this respect), the store of ammunition had become dangerously low, and Brereton confidently hoped that with this " greate

[27] The two Princes are reported, March 22, to be moving southward through Newport toward Bridgenorth. [S.P. Dom].

increase of their wantes " they would speedily be forced to surrender.

A letter from Lord Byron to Digby, the King's principal Secretary, written just after the raising of the siege, shows very plainly the brave Governor's attitude of mind at this time. With the gallant resolve to do his duty as a staunch and loyal soldier of King Charles, there runs throughout a tone of despondency and irritation at the manner in which the King's cause is being mismanaged, and the want of proper leadership. He points out how it is that the opportunity was not seized for re-victualling the city sufficiently ere the siege was resumed; how insufficient in number and quality were the troops left behind when Rupert left on account of the rising in Herefordshire. He writes sharply of Colonel Mostyn's officers and men—" ignorant Welsh gentlemen, and unwilling to undergo any strict duty "—and he complains, not without reason, of the want of spirit and vigour of the Welsh forces.

1645. April 26. Chester.—John Lord Byron to George Lord Digby, Principal Secretary.

Complains that the burden has grown too unwieldy for his thoughts to bear—urges necessity for speedy and powerful relief.

I know it is usual for men to exaggerate the importance of those places where their commands lie, but without any such self partiality this place stands unrivalled in relation to his Majs affairs. The two princes [Rupert and Maurice] having united their forces and relieved Beeston Castle were earnestly entreated by me to clear this country before they departed of those petty garrisons which infested Chester, but other considerations at that time hindered the effecting of it and therefore with a promise that the army should continue within a [moderate] distance, till Chester were furnished both with victuals and ammunition, I was contented to return and undertake the government of that garrison. But the business of Hereford interfering, Prince Rupert was suddenly called away before either amunition or victual could be brought into Chester, and together with his Highness marched away the remainder of the old Irish regiments with some other horse and foot to the number of at least 1,200, so that I was left in the town with only a garrison of citizens and my own and Colonel Mostin's regiments, which both together made not above 600 men, whereof one half being Mostin's men, I was forced soon after

to send out of town, finding them by reason of their officers, who were ignorant Welch gentlemen and unwilling to undergo any strict duty, far more prejudicial to us than useful. The rebels, finding the Prince retreated with his army and the country emptied of all soldiers but such as were necessary for keeping the garrisons, returned with all their forces to block up Chester on all sides which ever since they have continued, and withal laid siege to Hawarden Castle. The Welch though they have men for number and army sufficient to beat the rebels out of Wales yet either will not or dare not stir, notwithstanding the many orders I have sent them. The truth is that so long as that cursed Commission of Array or at least such Commissioners as are put into it have any power there, the King must expect no good out of North Wales, and I am confident were it not for the castles which are well provided both with men victual and ammunition that country w^d^ long since have taken part with Brereton and Middleton. Thus you see I am left in a condition neither to offend others nor defend myself, if pressed by a considerable army by the enemy, which I am advertised now is advancing towards me, the Scots being invited by the Ordinance of Parliament, which gives them Chester if they can win it, to join with the Lancashire and Cheshire forces. Besides this, if speedy relief come not, the want of gunpowder will be sufficient to blow me up there, there not being full 18 barrels in store neither any public magazine of victual nor money for public service. I have the more fully related my condition to your L'ship to the end that if any misfortune should befall me before relief come, it may appear how little accessory I have been to it; and for these poor means I have left to maintain this place, you may be assured I shall improve them to the utmost, and how unfortunate soever I may be, you shall have an account of my charge befitting an honest man and one whom I hope you shall not blush to own [S.P. Dom].

The Committee write to Brereton, April 15th, that they had "received this day a letter from Coventry signifying the return of Princes Rupert and Maurice towards his quarters. We have seconded our former letters to the Earl of Leven, General Leslie, General David Leslie, Lord Fairfax, and the Committee of Lancashire to send what forces they can spare."

Sir Wm. Brereton's letters indicate how greatly the reduction of Chester depended upon the movements of Rupert and King Charles, and the supply he so much needed of additional troops and victuals.

1645. April 4.—Sir William Brereton to——

Sir,

I had intelligence that there was some ammunition come from Anglesey towards Chester, and being come on this side of the Dee I marched into Flintshire to meet them, but they hearing of us got into Hawarden Castle, whither the country people drove in many carriages, and the malignants fled thither with their wives and children, thinking that we would only have faced that place; but I have left a strength before it, who are undermining it, which stands upon sand, therefore the more easy to dig. There is good store of powder and ammunition in it. And leaving a party there I marched to Goozanna, and fell upon the enemey there, which garrison I took from them, and therein all the Governor (a Captain) and 27 prisoners more, amongst which some officers. And from thence we marched to block up Chester on the Welsh side, which we have done. The enemy at our approach set fire to Handbridge, but by reason of our speedy march we gained Manly House from them, killed divers, took a captain and many other prisoners, and wounded many more besides, and pursued them to the bridge over which they fled into the city. Of which, if the Irish rebels come not, I hope shortly to give a good account.

WILLIAM BRERETON.

1645. April 18.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.

Hopes speedily to give a good account of Chester and Hawarden if not interrupted by ye accession of forces and constrained to raise ye siege. . . . Our hopes being much encreased of reducing ye places before named by the encrease of their wants which I believe in a few days may swell to yt height as yt those inclosed may be thereby made sensible and induced better to understand themselves.

Movements of Prince uncertain but meantime continue the siege agt Chester which will be sufficiently blocked up if wee can obtaine any encrease of foote from Lancaster and if the intended supply of victualles be brought in to us."

Poste.—Ye Darby horse are gone from us. I desire order might be given for their speedie returne. Wee are at great want of them in Wales [Add. MSS. 11,331, fol. 4].

1645. April 21.—Sir William Brereton to Sir Gerald Lesley.

As touching ye condition of Chester they become every day more and more necessitated fresh provisions being much wanting and very deare and the poorer sort are already much distressed, their provisions being spente, soe that ye Ritch must either supply them out of their store or turne them out of Towne which wee will not suffer. It is most probable they will be in a mutinie and high discontent soe as if your army were in

these partes their distracons and apprehensions of dangers would not only be so much increased but they wd thereby be much inclyned to accept condicons . . . . It is confidently believed yt after your appearance before them or ye quartering betwixt them and their expected releife ye citty wd not hold out six days. . . No great hopes there of Hawarden Castle.

Intelligence was sent on April 15th to the effect that he had taken Col. Sir Richard Byron, and Col. Sir Robert Byron with some other prisoners, five hundred pounds in money, and some horse who (as spies) had been in his quarters. Writing to the Committee on April 21st, he refers to the uncertainty about the King's march, and the importance of keeping a grip upon Chester, which he doubts not will before long be surrendered.

1645. April 21.—Sir William Brereton to Committee of both Kingdoms.

Not certain when King comes now hither or an army advance acrosse ye country and we meete them. They have pressed most of ye horse in these counties, and fitted themselves for a swift and quicke march. Report that their first worke is to relieve Chester, cleare Wales and for to fall in to Lancashire where they are sure to forme a potent party to joyne with them in ye reliefe. . . . The wantes of ye inhabitants of Chester increase every day more and more and wee are proceeding with all possible speede in ye undermoyneing of Hawarden. I confidently believe that they will never loose their whole interest at once in all these northwest partes of ye Kingdome which depend upon Chester which may be as easily relieved as attempted if these Armyes fall downe upon us and ye Scottish forces come not up in tyme to our assistance. Wee are soe neare Chester on all sides and yt ye inhabitants therein are much pinched and yet soe confident of speedy releife from ye Princes Army. If at this tyme they be disappointed in their expectacons, as it is not much doubted but ye Citty will before long be surrendered [Add. MSS., 11,331, fol. 5].

At the same time, pinched though they were, they had strong hopes of relief from Prince Rupert or the King, and the frequent rumours of the advance of the Royalists in strength caused anxiety to the Committee of both Kingdoms as well as to Brereton.

Early in May the Committee received intelligence from many quarters of the King's advance to relieve Chester, and

wrote to Brereton under date May 9th,

The King is advancing your way with his army. Furnish your garrisons with all necessary provisions, and keep a vigilant eye on the enemy's motions, that you may not be surprised by them or endangered.

The same warning was sent, May 12th, to the Earl of Leven and to Fairfax; May 15th, to the Committees of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire and Notts.

While every effort was being directed to prevent any junction with Montrose, who hoped, after his success in Scotland, to be " in a position before the end of the summer to come to the King's aid with a brave Army," Brereton was in constant apprehension of an attack on the Welsh side,[28] and greatly disappointed that the King should be left at liberty to interrupt his carefully arranged plans for reducing Chester and Hawarden. The siege of Hawarden was being prosecuted with vigour and success. Chester was closely invested and the inhabitants "in great distress, having little to support them besides the expectation of speedie reliefe." Notwithstanding, he writes to John Bradshawe, May 14th, "the condition of things stands soe hazardous that I thinke it not soe fitt to leave them yet till this storme be over though my power here be soe weakened that I cannot act as I would."

1645. May 14. Tarvin.—Sir William Brereton to John Bradshaw.

Our trenches have been driven up close to ye walles of Hawarden Castell—our mynes proceed on very hopefull—our batteries are very sucksessfull—have done very great execution and made two very large breaches soe that our officers assure me that in three or four dayes the possession of it would be ours.

[28] Col. Chidley Coote writes from Hooton, April 25, 1645, to Sir W. Brereton, " If some speedie course be not taken, Chester will be relieved from Flint. Everyday there lying bootes, and one vessel able to carry eight pieces of ordinance, which had her sayles hoysted up yesterday and would have attempted to come out of ye harber if ye wind had served: as for any provision yt was sent to Chester there is not any such thing and if there were Wyrhall could not take it nor is there men or Boates to hinder it. Therefore you must take some better course to besiege it by sea then by a stinkeinge boate or two yt are not able to doe any good."

The siege is drawne up close to Chester and ye last evening I had intelligence that ye people there was in great distresse, having little to support them besides the expectation of speedie reliefe. Much disappointed that King is at liberty to interrupt all this. I had intended to come up to London in a few dayes, but the condicon of thinges stands soe hazardous that I thinke it not soe fitt to leave them yet till this storme be over though my forces here be soe weakened that I cannot act as I would and thinke if I come up I might doe that service for my country which will not otherwise be done.

Owing to the withdrawal by Prince Rupert of the Irish Regiments and his own horse, and Lord Byron's dismissal of Colonel Mostyn's men, the garrison was insufficient for such a large circuit of wall. The noblemen and gentlemen who had come into the city at the commencement of the trouble "have converted all their best horse into troop horses and have mounted their best soldiers upon them, and now in readiness with 120 horse as good as any in the Kingdom to fall upon our guards." They succeed " continually in bringing in cattel that are good beefe, those in the city being not good dogges meate "—" they have no fresh meate and little fish."[29]

They were able also to supply themselves with milk, as they could put all their cattle out to grass on the Hoole side of Chester without interruption from the besiegers, who had not horse enough to keep them in.

A letter from Brereton to the Committee on May 8th reveals more despondency than he had hitherto shown. He adverts again to the want of men sufficient to keep up the blockade, which becomes more serious in view of the expected advance of a strong force from Wales, and the repeated losses which he had sustained and which were by no means balanced by his own successes. He continued to press closely the siege of the two castles, Hawarden and Beeston. He had completed the trench round Hawarden Castle and was busy driving a mine under the round tower.

[29] Information from Nantwich to Sir W. Brereton, May 8, from " A friend of ours that was this day at 11 o'clock in Chester."

1645. May 6. Stafford.—Henry Stone and Phi: Jackson to Sir William Brereton.

Ready to march with their forces to-morrow towards you. Have written also to Col. Ashenhurst and Lt.-Col. Watson, who will observe your commands also.

1645. May 7. Dunham.

Col. John Booth, prepared to bring up to leaguer at Chester, 300 foot and a troop of Horse.

1645. May 8. Dodleston.—Sir William Brereton to Committee.

Asks that Yorkshire horse may remain and obey orders—that Derby horse which never returned be commanded to return. Difficult without assistance to keep up leaguer, ye country generally so malignant or overawed they will not bring in any manner of provisions and now very little remaines within eight or ten miles on this side the water. Great preparacon made by enemy, now bringing down ye forces of Anglesey, Carnarvon and Denbighshire to joyne with those in these parts. They have taken April 29th in the night Capt. Bulkely and about forty of his troope and ten of my firelocks and before that they had surprised more than twenty of Capt. Farrer's men, under comd of Sir T. Myddleton and upon Tuesday, May 7th, Capt. Massey Brother to ye Gen. of Gloucester and neare twenty gentles and officers and about forty common souldiers taken in and about Wrexham by ye Welsh forces united under ye comand of Col Trevor, in all which successes they have noe great cause of Triumph and rejoicing. For when Capt. Bulkely was taken it is reported that neare sixteen were slaine and divers more wounded and Sir Thomas Myddelton's men on Monday took Capt. Edwards and Capt. Dewell and on Tuesday Major Morris was wounded and Capt. Kinaston and Capt. Lloyde slaine and divers others wounded. Upon the Cheshire side on Tuesday May 6th we took divers and slew five or six of those whom they tried to guard the Castell. Wantes are much encreased insomuch as a quarter of veale last Saturday was sould (as it is reported by Wm. Sellbrye, a Chester butcher) for 10s, some say 13s 4d. We have perfected our trench round about Hawarden Castell and are going on with our myne and have brought a piece of ordinance to be imployed against ye same. Wee have almost finished a mount before Beeston Castell Gate, which is incompassed with a stronge deepe trench which will comand and keepe them in ye Castell soe as they dare not issue out in stronge party to annoy ye country or bring in provision. We hear nothing of ye Scotch force approaching any nearer then their old quarters.

Writing from Dodleston, May 11, 1645, to Sir Harry Vane he states:—

Our good success with batteries give good hopes ag^t^ Hawarden. Chester in want of ammunicon and provision. Those cattel they keepe within y^e^ Citty, where there is very great scarsity of salt as well as Ammunicon.

Upon Friday night we began to batter [Hawarden] and with good sucksesse, soe as perhaps we may not stand in neede of y^e^ helpe of our mynes to gaine y^e^ place. Complains that Derbyshire horse have not returned—Yorkshire quartered so far as to be useless—have hoped for assistance from Scottish but in vain [Add. MSS. 11,331].

1645. May 12. Hoole Hall.—Col. Duckenfield to Sir William Brereton.

The Yorkshire horse under Col. Spencer quartered about Stockport and in Mottram parish and intend to ruin these parts as well as about Maxfield. They take very many horses and much money and goods and neglect your orders.

Besieged in Chester put all their cattel forth to grass on this side of y^e^ town without interruption. We have not horse enough to keep them in, and as long as they have benefit of y^e^ milke of soe many cowes the besieged will be unwilling to yeald which may easily be prevented with six troopes of horse and those foote wee have.

Our horse are unwilling to do dutie, because they have lost soe many horse and ventured themselves but for little thanks or reward.

Sir Wm. Constable's regt. is alsoe marching towards our parts soe that unless you take some course to helpe they will ruine us.

A touching letter from Lady Neale to her husband, Sir William Neale, which was intercepted by the Committee of Shropshire, shows how very desperate was the condition of the Royalists, yet declaring her purpose to hold out as long as there is victual for the besieged.

1645. May 9. Hawarden.

My Hart, I wonder infinitely that sending for intelligence I could not heare from you. Our condition is at this tyme very desperate for besides the approach of their myne which is very neare y^e^ great Round Tower they have brought over great peeces for five carriages we discovered, but whether they be all for Battery wee know not because y^e^ worke they are makeing for one of them is conceived by y^e^ Captaine for a morter peice and that is making in the field above your seate. I am purposed to hould out as longe as there is meate for man for none of these eminent daingers shall ever frighten mee from my

loyalty but in life and death I will be ye King's faithfull subject and thy constant loveinge wife and humble servant.

HELEN NEALE.

But as Major Lowthian's report to Colonel Jones shows, Hawarden Castle was not to be taken by means of mine or battery, and was to prove a most valuable garrison and support to the end of the siege of Chester.

1645. May 16. Hawarden.—Major James Louthiane to Col. Jones.

Yesternight ye enemy discovered our myne, and pierced ye side of it forth of theirs, whereupon our men for present fled but upon my coming downe I brought them to ye trenche againe, and thereupon ye enemy left theirs and have broken down ye mouth of it which buttes upon ours and stopped up ye trench yet neverthelesse our men all are very fearfull to worke. I desire your speedy repaire hither to advise what to be done that wee may resolve of some speedy course, for I apprehend ye enemy to be much daunted.

Colonel Jones communicated to Brereton his opinion that there is little hope of the mine. Three days before he had intimated his pressing need of speedy reinforcements in view of the Royalist succour advancing from Llangollen. If he had this support, he would seek the enemy and offer him battle. Brereton rejoins that the danger is not so imminent as to require removal. If any it is from Wales. But apparently the decision to raise the siege of Hawarden was left to the officers on the spot.

1645. May 13. Dodleston.—Col. Mich. Jones to Sir William Brereton.

Capt. Wright with me last night [stated] that a friend of his came from Llangoughlan [Llangollen] where Vaughan's, Trevers and other forces were joyned with intent to fall on us. You have not sent us forces. You might spare Col. Dukinfield's, Coote and Carter's troopes untill this fitte were over (which cannot last three or four dayes), alsoe Vennables your owne foote company and some of Duckinfield's Regt. Sixty in each place will maintaine that side for a short space agt all ye power of Chester. The Cattell there will not be much ye fatter if they grasse three or four dayes longer. If horse must be on that side Col. Leigh Marbury and Stafford's troopes will for ye present be sufficient. I pray God ye stronge guard kept on that side be not as disadvantagious unto us as ye keepeing of Christleton

was when Prince Maurice was in Wales, the Comᵉᵉ of Tarvin I conceive were yᵉ cause of that and I believe will be of this, and where are yᵉ Yorkshire horse if yᵉ King and Princes be leading this way? Why are not yᵉ Scotts sent on, and notice given to yᵉ Comᵉᵉ of both Kingdomes? If you manage this business well and give yᵉ King and Princes a defeat to your immortal fame you will be continued in your command. If you will bring over Vennables, Duckinfield and Louthian's foote there may be sent over Baskerville, Colton and Hardware, whose men may prove well in houses though not in field. Victualls should be provided for yᵉ army for three or four dayes.

1645. May 13. 9 o'clocke. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir William Brereton.

Your letter came to me before six this morning. Ye peece shall be drawne off this night. Ye enemy still togeather. Hasten over what horse and foote you can—the myne shall goe on.—Provisions should be sent. If you did speedily send over yᵉ force mencioned in my letter to you this morning we would seeke the enemy and offer him battaile. Had yᵉ Yorkshire horse continued here they should never have drawne to a head.

1645. May 16. Tarvin.—Sir William Brereton to Col. Jones and Major Louthiane.

The danger not so imminent as to require removal. If any, it is from Wales—But Col. Moston's force has been (we heare) disbanded there will be very few foote to come against you.

Whether Col. Ashton's men should leave Eccleston or Louthian to leave Hawarden—serious debate—either Eccleston or Hawarden should be preserved.

We hear that not more than three or four barrels of powder in Chester. If Hawarden be released, Chester will be relieved.

Qy whether to make some attempt on Chester before you rise.

A council of war is held May 16th, "at which the majority hold that the mine could not be ready for eight days, and that they should fight."

1645. May 16. Hawarden Castle.—Council of War.

I conceive that yᵉ mine may be springed within eight dayes. Wm. Mydleton.

Little hope of yᵉ mine & therefore that we draw into a body very speedily. Thos. Ravscroft.

Mine not ready for eight days—fight yᵉ enemy. Jas. Louthiane.

Best to draw into a body and fight. E. Garrard.

Mine being hazardous—fight. Jno. Hawkeridge.

No hope of mine by reason of countermine. Wyn. Finch.

Mine not like to take effect this eight dayes.
Fr. Acton & Hugh Holt.
Mine—very small hope. Rand. Radman.
" Sam Ratcliffe, Rich. Browne.

The next day a second council of war was held " at Dodleston to determine whether as things now stand it be better to continue y^e^ siege before Chester and Hawarden, or to withdraw." The votes were as follows :—

| To withdraw | | To joyne or withdraw |
|---|---|---|
| Jer. Zanchy | Jo. Bowyer | Thos. Ravscroft |
| Mich. Jones | Ralph Asheton | |
| James Louthaine | Hen. Brook | |
| John Leigh | | |

I conceived not to withdraw except an enemy appeare
W. Myddleton.
To withdraw into a body. W. Brereton.

According to y^e^ judgment of y^e^ counsell of warre held at Dodleston May 17 1645

It is ordered that all y^e^ forces now on y^e^ Welch side the river doe draw together into a body tomorrow at such tyme as L^t^ Coll Jones and Major Louthiane shall thinke most convenient and shall march into Cheshire as they shall thinke fittest. Provided and it is left to y^e^ discretion of L^t^ Coll Jones and Major Louthiane whether Coll Ashton's regiment march to y^e^ body or march over y^e^ boate at Eccleston and soe to Huntington or shall march to Dodleston and Hawarden and soe with y^e^ rest of y^e^ army.

Dated May 17, 1645. WM. BRERETON.

Before carrying out this resolution several matters of importance had to be decided. Colonel Jones writes (May 16th) to Brereton to ask " If you think it meete that wee march off it is worthy of consideration what should be done with the boates."

" Y^e^ best course" he suggests " were to sink them all, when it is a-doing, noe countrymen must be by. Because y^e^ march will be too tedious for y^e^ Lancashire foote I thinke it the best course for them to march to Huntington Hall, thence to Tarvin; but all the rest march over y^e^ fords to-morrow by six in the morning. The tyde will serve. At our landing we shall expect to heare from you. All y^e^ provision need not be sent " [Add. MSS. 11,331].

This plan was carried out.

## CHAPTER V.

### Criticisms and Complaints.

We may with advantage pause here to survey the condition of affairs outside Chester.

The whole neighbourhood for many miles round had been brought to a miserable pass. Three years before, complaint was made that Cheshire, and the Wirral especially, was "so eaten up that it is almost impossible for 100 horse to subsist in all Wirrall" [Portland Papers]. As the war continued, the county became still more impoverished, and the scarcity was felt quite as much among the besieging army as by those beleaguered at Chester.

1645. April 20.—Sir T. Middleton to Sir W. Brereton.

Reports an intended march of discovery and pursuite of the enemy up towards Carne and ye higher parts of ye counties of Flint and Denbigh, from whence we shall endeavour to send what provision we can to our Army here which is put in a bad condition for want of provision of victualles and other necessaries for Horse in these parts.

Hopes to get a fortnightly provision of all sortes of victuals and other accommodacon [Add. MSS., 11,331].

The want of money also interfered seriously with discipline. The arrears of pay were as great as they could have been under Turkish pashas, though Brereton made continual appeals to the Committee of Parliament for funds. His letters are full of earnest representations of this great hindrance to the cause. The Yorkshire horse refuse to march unless they receive their pay. They will not even return home and at least to that degree relieve the county of Cheshire which is groaning under the burden of their keep. Lord Fairfax writes from York, April 10, 1645, that the Yorkshire horse "complain of their great necessity and want of all meanes of accommodation for their subsistence." They are like Falstaff's ragged regiment—for, "they have not had time since their departure from hence to make up

their cloath assigned them here into cloathes." Many have "lost their horses by their hard dutie and service" [Add. MSS. 11,331, fol. 28].

These troops were a trouble to their own officers as well as to the Commander-in-Chief.

Fairfax writes, April 15, 1645, to their officers, countermanding order for return of the Yorkshire horse, and directing officers to warn men to be careful not to

spoyle or plunder ye country which they are much condemned for. They should be punished, that you may show your dislike of such wicked courses.

Col. William Spencer writes, April 30, 1645, from Macclesfield, to Sir William Brereton:—

Our Officers and soldiers are unwilling for the most part to go into Wales. They have no more faith or patience left.

Brereton replies:—

I cannot dismiss them or send money at present. Some of the Officers of your regiment have given out very ill and unbecoming words against me. I desire that some of them be brought to trial for it, as some of ye other regiments have bin, since when they have carried themselves so as noe complaints have come against them.

Major Goodricke complains to Brereton, May 1st, of the mutinous conduct of the Yorkshire horse quartered at Overton. They are impatient of delay in payment—refuse to march into Wales.

1645. May 5. York.—Lord Fairfax to Sir William Brereton.

Desires return of his horse if they cannot be accommodated better and have some money. Complaints and petitions had been received from them, wishing to return home.

1645. May 8. Dodleston.—Sir William Brereton to the Committee.

Asks that the Yorkshire horse may remain and *obey orders*, and that the Derbyshire horse which never returned be commanded to return. Difficult without assistance to keep up leaguer. The country generally so malignant or overawed they will not bring in any manner of provisions and now very little remaines within eight or ten miles on this side the water [S.P. Dom.].

1645. May 16.

Officers of Yorkshire Regiment hear that £5,000 has come from London and demand their share and then are ready to move.

1645. May 16. Tarvin.

Brereton replies that their unwillingness to move into Wales without pay has much retarded ye present design against Chester and the loss of many of our forces and also to great prejudice and discontent of that part of the County where they have been quartered. I hoped when you had received the £200 you wd not have continued to lie in ye County and not doe service but wd cheerfully have marched into Wales where you have bin expected and is much neede of you. Please march without delay,[30] the balance shall be paid [S.P. Dom].

These ill-paid and ill-fed soldiers conceive that as no one in authority appeared to care for them they must needs care for themselves, and the natural consequence was a series of bitter complaints against the army of plundering and violence.

The Committee at Tarvin complain to the Committee at Stafford that Rigsley's troop "had left without leave from Sir Wm. Brereton, plundered many houses near to our garrison, from our best friends, and used much violence to them." They ask for restoration [Add. MSS. 11,331, fol. 28].

The London Committee (April 22nd) complain to Brereton that they had

received information that since your late march into Wales some exorbitancies have been committed by your soldiers towards these poor people without due distinction between those well-affected to Parlt and such as are disaffected. Among other spoil—that of Plas Teague [Plas Teg, Sir J. Trevor's house].[31]

[30] May 14, he notes that of £300 in hand, £200 for the Officers, and £100 for the soldiers, 5/- a week during their stay to the soldiers and proportionate sum to the officers cannot do it all.

[31] The number of ye particular goods that were plundered from Plas Teage :—

20 Bedtickes, whereof received back 7.
19 Boulsters, whereof received back 3.
1 Couchbed tick wh. is restored 1.
34 pillowes — 28 Blankets — 6 Rugges.
6 Testernes, except a little piece of one & one Canopie.
3 Vallence & ye silke fringe of ye Canopie.
7 Bed Curtaines and 2 window Curtaines.
14 Bedpillowes. 5 Couch pillowes. 28 Bed Blankets.
6 rugges for beddes. 7 Covers of Chairs. 28 Covers of Stooles.
4 Covers of Couches. 18 paire of flaxen sheets.
6 Holland pillow beares. 2 Turkey Carpetts.
1 faire Bible (what besides out of closet is not known)
1 Crossbow. 1 fowlinggunne. 1 great Iron Racke.
Brasse of divers Andirons. Brasse Candlesticks.
3 powndes in money. The Cabinet.

Since then ye foote tooke 3 sheets and one old horse besides such provisions as they found in ye house. [Add. MSS., 11,331, fol. 28].

We desire there may be especial care had in that case of full restitution and that such as commit these insolencies may be exemplarily punished, otherwise the consequence can be no less than the exasperating of their spirits against you and the loss of their service to the Parliament. In all places there are some disaffected and so it is like there are among them, yet all shd not suffer for the fault of some. Give order to your forces so to carry themselves that the inhabitants be not further alienated, nor have cause to complain while your forces are there [S.P. Dom].

To these complaints Brereton pleads (April 26th, Dodleston), that he had not the power to hold the reins of discipline. The men are not his own soldiers, and owing to the extreme want of all necessaries, which inflamed the soldiers' discontents to an unmasterable height, it was hard to prevent outrages. He had remonstrated, even used blows, laid hold of the most incorrigible and tried them by councils of war. Four malefactors had been judged to die, of whom two were executed forthwith, the other two (Lancashire men) were sent into Lancashire to be executed to prevent mutiny. The property taken had been restored as far as possible [Add. MSS. 11,331].

Writing to Sir John Trevor (April 30, 1645), he declares that he had not been negligent in repressing disorder. " I had desperate threats to y^e^ hazard of my life, which yet have not abated my endeavours to prevent y^e^ spoyle of y^e^ country yet all my endeavour did not prevaile."

Brereton's letter of May 6th from Dodleston to Major Lowthian shows that this plea is no evasive one. " I heare there is such spoyle made by y^e^ souldiers amongst cattell and sheepe as that I have no more hart to come amongst them. Care should be taken to reform such destructive courses, which will bring y^e^ judgment and curse of God upon the whole army." " Punish any who kill sheepe for their skins." " Any skins found in soldiers' quarters to be seized for the public benefit." " Soldiers are not to be their own carvers " [S.P. Dom].

Strong parties were sent into Wales for provisions, about which there was great anxiety, as the following report from

Colonel Michael Jones indicates.

1645. April 17. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir W. Brereton.

By ye blessing of God ye army is safely returned with 6000 sheep and 500 cowes, but they will soon lessen unless you have an eye to Wyrhall, Ince, and other places. I heare yt 200 of ye best are now a driveing over ye watter to Wyrhall.[32]

A gentleman's house neare Holliwell was fired for that it had souldiers in it that killed a man of your regt. The widdow Hanmer's house neare Hollywell [between Northop and Caerwys] that did soe much prejudice is taken, fired and all that refused quarter viz. twelve put to ye s[w]ordd nine whereof were rosted.

Some correspondence is introduced here as illustrating the stern unrelenting spirit with which Sir William Brereton prosecuted the siege of Chester. It is written just at the time when there was every prospect that the city would once more be rescued from his grip. But he will not relax his hold until he is actually forced. An appeal is made on a certificate signed by no less than seven medical men at Chester, that one Mr. Harper may leave the city to undergo an operation of importance. But Brereton refuses unless the invalid takes the Oath of the Covenant. The document is interesting as giving the names of surgeons in Chester and London.

[32] The report subjoined shows how such spoil was distributed. "Report by Geo. Parker and John Chadocke to Sir W. Brereton, Dodleston, Ap. 30, 1645, of cows and sheep brought out of enemy's country.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cowes | |
| Mr. Ball and on [one] of Lt Coll Garrard his souldrs. three cowes | |
| The poore weomen restored | 23 cowes |
| To Mr. Hinde ye rest wh were | 354 |
| The whole number | 380 |
| Sheepe | |
| Sr Tho. Middleton's Officers | 160 |
| to Mr. Manlies Quarterers | 020 |
| Major Croxton's men at Hanbridge | 002 |
| Mr. Hinde ye rest wh were | 1712 |
| The whole number | 1894 |

Concerning Captaine Bulkely I dont no but Coll. Jones will give ye newse."

1645, May 2.—Certificate by

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Drs | Hugh Parry M.D. | Chirurgeons |
| | Roger Pulston | Rob Thornely |
| | J. Bray M.D. | Rob Morrey |
| | James Read | Edw Hallis |

That Mr Harper is suffering from an Infirmity in ye left eye called Ayglops or fistula lachrimans wh if not tymely prevented may endainger ye bone & grissle of the nose & then be irremediable the cure whereof requires exquisite manuall operation. We advise that he repaire to Mr Watson the Kinge's Chirurgeon or to the Colledge of Physitions or Chirurgeons.

1645. May 6. Dodleston.—Sir William Brereton refuses—

Your desire to have my passe both to Oxford & London cannot be granted by me, nor to London onely unlesse you please to take ye oath yt ye Parlt hath appointed in such cases wh is all ye answer yt can be yours at ye present by your loving friend, Wm. Brereton [Add. MSS. 11,331].

There were other difficulties about obtaining passes called "drums," and complaint is made of violence shown them. Lord Byron is in conflict with Brereton about the exception made in favour of chaplains, chirurgeons, drums and trumpeters, who, he maintains are released without exchange, fee or ransom. Brereton disputes this, and goes on in his turn to complain of the exactions made by the marshals in Chester upon prisoners.

Mr. Thomas Savage, Chester, April 16, 1645, procures a drum from the City to attend Sir W. Brereton to desire his pass for his servant to carry a letter to his cousin Anne Savage about the non payment of certain monies.

22 April.—Lord Byron complains to Sir William Brereton that violence was shown to a drum sent with a passe to Tarvin, also to two sent to Dodleston to Sir Thomas Middleton touching exchange of prisoners [Add. MSS. 11,331].

1645. May 8.—Dodleston.—Sir William Brereton to Lord Byron.

Your statement that all chaplains, chirurgeons and Drums and Trumpets should be freely released without ransom was but an overture of yours never consented unto by me.

Have recd many complaintes from my men that have bin prisoners at Chester that your marshiall and advocate exact of them extraordinary sumes of money for fees and charges which my marshialls are to apt to imitate them in, because of my command to them to use your men that are prisoners with me

in like manner as mine are used. But I could desire (though it be in a time when there is a great inequallity in ye number of prisoners both you and me) that you would send a particular of fees and charges for prisoners men and weomen to paye to advocate and marshiall that soe we may observe ye like.

1645. May 9. Tarvin.—Sir W. Brereton to

Here is stayed in Tarvin three horses with three loads of sheepe skins and shewes a warrant for his passe with your name subscribed, but whether by you or without yr knowledge is not knowne by me. It is that which tends to ye distrucon of all provision. It is not unknowne to all at Eccleston there hath bine orders that none should passe and I have stayed my owne souldiers Namptwch men parishioners at Eccleston, and as your souldiers know have taken their skines from them: his name is John Collinge the passe beares date May 8, 1645.

Your very loveing freind, Wm. Brereton.

These are to will and require you to permitt and suffer ye bearers hereof Ambrose Jackson and John Collinge of ye parish of Ratchdale in ye county of Lancaster to passe your guards and scoutes with three packes of sheepeskines bought of ye Commissary at Dodleston and three nagges to their owne habitacon. Dated at Eccleston ye 8 Day of May, 1645.

[Lt Col.] John Bradshaw.

Gentlemen,—I have sent you three horseloads of skines and three horses which were brought in Eccleston and these are ye abuse of Cheshire men that Lancashire men shall keepe ye fords soe with my service to you all I rest yours in what I may,

Rich Holford.

These comeing in ye Comissary's name
which is noe such thinge.

Exchange unequal between a Captain and a Colonel who hath a regiment depending upon him [Add. MSS. 11,331].

We have seen the difficulties which Brereton met with in enforcing discipline and preventing disorder. He had trouble also with his superiors. He was not on the best of terms with Leslie or with Sir Thomas Myddleton. He complains April 30th, to his friend Mr. Ashurst that "divided authority is as bad." The Scots under General Leslie will not obey him as is proper, but follow their own commanders, and he proposes that the entire command should be vested in General Leslie. Sir Thomas Myddleton was dissatisfied with him and took no care to conceal his unfriendly feeling.

Complaints were made to the Committee of both Kingdoms of Brereton's management of the siege. Sir Thomas Myddleton would appear to have urged storming the city, and to have spoken freely to his friends of what he would have done. There was doubtless an abundance of critics in London who had the ear of influential members of the Committee. The upshot of the intrigue was that in a letter to his friend, Mr. Wm. Ashurst, dated Tarvin, May 15th, he speaks of himself as " dismissed by y^e^ late great ordinance [the self-denying ordinance] from my command."[17] While Sir Wm. Brereton was to continue in command of the troops in Cheshire he was to act with a Committee consisting of Sir George Booth, kt. and bart., George Booth, Hen. Brooke, Robert Duckenfield, esquires, the Governor of Nantwich (for the time being), and Sir Wm. Brereton, bart., who or the major part of them being three or more present " are to order and direct all y^e^ forces now under Sir Wm. Brereton's command forty days after y^e^ xiiii^th^ day of this instant May."

1645. May 8.—William Ashurst to Sir William Brereton.

Houses have resolved Col. Jones should command y^e^ horse, and Louthian y^e^ foote and that to supply a Commander in Cheshire a Com^ee^ chosen (wherein y^e^ advice of y^e^ Cheshire Gent here at London was taken) and they have resolved upon Sir Geo. Boothe K^t^ and Bar^t^ Sir William Brereton B^t^, George Boothe, Wm. Brooke, Robert Dukinfield and John Leigh, Esq. and G^l^ Governor of Nantwich (for ye tyme being) who or y^e^ major part of them being three or more present are to order and direct all y^e^ forces now under your command for forty days after y^e^ xiiiith day of this instant May.

[33] The First Self-Denying Ordinance was moved in Dec. 1644 by Zouch Tate, who was strongly supported by Cromwell. It was to the effect " That during the time of this war no member of either House shall have or execute any office or command, military or civil, granted or conferred by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any authority derived from both or either of the Houses."

By the Second Ordinance, passed April 3, 1645, members of either House were no longer to be disqualified from office, but required within forty days after the passing of the Ordinance to resign any post conferred by the existing Parliament. There was no prohibition against their re-employment, and thus Cromwell was continued in the Lieut.-Generalship for three months longer, Sir Thomas Middleton in his command in North Wales, and Sir W. Brereton's appointment extended as above.

If you should offer to come up to London and leave Chester before you be called hither, it would not only be contrary to ye desire of all your friends here but ye house would take it ill for they doe depend upon it that you will continue to be a stay to that worke and be actively as formerly, tho in another capassity.

Colonel Michael Jones, in a long letter to Sir Robert King from Dodleston, April 29th, replies to some of the criticisms referred to. The charges may be reduced to three : 1. The Parliamentary army was allowed to lie in open quarters, without entrenchments (" no spade upon the ground.") 2. Brereton's men were backward in doing duty and serving on guards near Chester where the danger was. 3. The unrestrained pillage, especially in Wales. Colonel Jones answers these complaints in a straightforward way, showing that Chester was closely blockaded on all sides, and that entrenchments were made at necessary points. The losses sustained by pistol shot on the Chester side disprove the second charge, whereas the danger was chiefly from the Welsh quarter. The pillage and pilfering which went on did not pass unpunished, and was not greater than usual in armies obliged to gather in provisions. Brereton writes much in the same terms to his staunch friend in London, Mr. Ashurst.

1645. April 29. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir Robert King.

Aspersions have been cast upon our proceedings. 1. ' That our army lie in open quarters without defence or putting spade in ground.' True that our remote quarters are not now defensible after the Low Country manner. But noe citty in England has been closlier blocked up than this, considering the weakness of our army : on Cheshire side they are kept in by three garrisones or quarters each within half a mile of that citty all fortified. On the Welch side there are five quarters, two of them not a mile distant from the city of sufficient strength to oppose ye enemy. But the quarter at Iron Bridge not distant half a mile is sufficiently fortified. Those yt lie at Hawarden have with Trenches almost environed it round and this day begin to mine.

It was offered by some that a fort should be made before Handbridg to hinder their passage over ye Bridg into Wales. But it was ye major opinion that it was as well blocked up as if ye fort had been made and before ye fort could be made ye place

designed for it being within musquet shott of ye walles wd have lost us most of our Armey. It was alsoe ye opinion of most yt if a fort had bin made and ye citty had bin relieved it would be advantageous to them and very prejudiciall to us until Hawarden be taken where wee have 600 men, wee cannot lye so close to ye citty as wee would.

The 2nd informa'con was ' that our men were backward to doe dutie or to goe to these guards neare Chester where danger was.' The losse of our men slaine within pistoll shott of ye bridge and in other sundry places will disprove that. I am confident noe men in England are willinger to doe dutie or to expose themselves to dainger than ye men then before Chester, were it not soe ye officers yt command here would never with the small force have undertaken soe great a worke. Lt Generall Lesley said hee would not undertake it under 10,000 men.

The 3rd charge is ' yt ye souldiers pilladge ye country.' 'Tis true yt they goeing abroad for provisions doe some tymes pilfer (noe armie is free of it) for which they passe not unpunished, four already being executed for it. I dare say ye whole army since their comeinge into Wales have not taken goodes to ye vallue of 10li all but blankets and such like being connvayed in to their strongholds except ye goods of Sir John Trever which Sr W. B. had protected and now laboureth with all his power to have restored and some jewells found in Barron Edwards howse[34] vallued by ye informer at 7000li they are not worth 500 but if they be it is ye better for ye publique being in the Treasurers hands. Hee alsoe informeth yt cattell valued at 4000li hath bin taken. I have inquired after it and doe find yt some cattell belonging to ye souldiers that are in Hawarden Castell were taken from under ye command of it not worth above 100li. But in regard they were wonne by ye sord, ye souldiers and officers had sent them into Chesshire without ye Privatety of any commanding in Cheefe. The informer further saith yt there is a bruite of some Irish landed in Wales and now yt ye Country is pilliaged our armey as formerly will march away. The armey marched out of Wales when ye Prince came this way is not I am confident unknowne to you but as yet ye Bruite of them hath not removed.

The last informn was ' yt at a Counsell of Warre houlden at Namptwich it was resolved to be lawfull to take all yt belonged to ye Welsh.' There never was any such resolucon nor speech to yt purpose. This informer's letter beareth date ye 14th of this

[34] Letter from Baron [Evan] Edwards that his house had been plundered by Capt. Coltham and Capt. Viner's men, wife stript out of her cloaths by ye Yorkshire men, a box of jewels taken now in Sir W. Brereton's hands—will he make restitution [S.P. Dom.].

mounth (his name is John Jones one of Sr Thomas Middleton's Captaines) since which tyme viz. on 23rd of the instant a party of 500 horse and 400 foote marched into S. Asaph twenty miles distant from Chester where they heard the enemy was. But finding it impossible by reason of their mountaines and castells to overtake them being fled thence, ye County was driven by ye assent of Sr Tho. Middleton for ye gaineing of provisions for ye Army which in a manner until that tyme was provided for by Cheshire, most of which cattel, the whole number of good Cowes not amounting to 400 nor ye sheepe to 2000 being not fitt to be slaine (and if endeavoured to be keapt untill they had bin meate, most of them wd have bin stolen) were by diverse honest men imployed for yt purpose sould into Chesshire and sheepe and other provisions bought with ye moneyes for ye Army and noe parte converted to private uses. In our returne whence parte of ye Armey passing before Hugh Pennant's house divers of them were shott and one killed, a party being on their march towarde it they forsooke it.

To deter others from doing ye like with ye consent of Sr Tho. Middleton ye howse was ffired.

Alsoe at ye widdow Hanmer's howse there was a garrison of ye enemyes which killed divers of our men and hindred provisions to be brought unto Hawarden. The howse being summoned and they refuseing quarter it was stormed and all but two put to the sord and ye howse ffired.

I am still of opinion that if North Wales be not annexed unto Cheshire these parts cannot subsist, ffor Wales is able to ffurnish these with victualls and to maintaine more men than Cheshire now can, it being very much impoverished by ye auxilliary fforces sent to our assistance. As long as there is any possibility of subsistance and doeing of service here I will not leave it but if I be constrained I hope I shall never forsake ye service of ye Parlt as some have done though I serve as a common souldier : if ye gentle : proposed for ye command of North Wales obtaine it he will doe as little good as Sr Thomas Middleton hath. If forces must now be raised for him, ye summer will be spent and ye money must be gotten : he hath noe considerable fforce, although he vaunted of his and Sr Tho : great fforce in ye parliamt howse. There are not left of Sr Tho. Middleton's 160 ffoote and seventy horse. This is ye grand Army supposed to be joyned with ye Chesh : fforce. Chester is in some straighte if relief come not. I am confident wee shall carrie it. But a small force will reprise it unlesse tymelie supplies of men monies and victuall from ye adjacent counties be sent unto us. Noe newse of ye Scotch marcheing this way. I am confident if they came hither before ye Prince

and would joyne with us wee should carrie ye Citty by assault. If ye Prince come he cannot in a month furnish ye Citty with provisions and as soone as he is gone if he be not able to fight with him and wee will soone be before it againe. Soe that this petty army will endainger ye ruineing of ye Kinge's army if it releive Chester as often as wee distresse it. I am very glad to heare yt ye militia is to be guided by souldiers and ye civill power by ye eminent gentry and if they agree as I hope they will all thinges will prove as well as if there had bin noe chainge.

MICH JONES.

Notes of a letter of Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst in answer to complaints against him, April 30, 1645.

1. No spade upon ground upon 19th instant.

Besides our elder works at Tarvin, there are our defensive works at Iron [Heron] bridge and at Hoole, Upton, Huntington, &c.

2. Souldiers are backward to do duty and serve upon those guards next Chester.

The guard nearest Chester is not most dangerous : we are placed between two enemies, Chester and Wales. The enemy from Ruthin, Hoult and their other castells besides ye disaffected country who gather into parties are continually ready to beat upon our quarters and this week have taken twenty of Sir Thomas Middleton's in their quarters in Wales.

3. Soldiers scatter all over Wales and take all they can carry or drive away—Plate and jewels of value £7000 ; Beasts of value, £4,000, &c.

Herein is something of truth but is represented by an extreme Hyperbole. The Welch refuse to supply provisions; therefore warrants are issued. But as for the plate and jewels, they are safely kept by ye Publique Treasurer for ye States use [Add. MSS., 11,331].

A letter from the Captain John Jones, referred to by Colonel Jones, is given here as a specimen of the carping criticism to which military commanders were subjected in the seventeenth century.

1645. April.—Mr. John Jones to Col. Barton.

We doe still continue our quarters in a loose and unsettled maner before Chester and Hawarden Castell and by improvidence and licentious carriage of the souldiers are in greater want that ye besieged. We were informed that Chester was in great want of powder and match and that they had but 60

Irish in ye Towne besides ye Townsmen which together with our own wantes and discordes made Sir Thomas very earnest to have the Town stormed and offered that his owne men should leade, but it will not be untill hunger drive us to storme it for their victualls for ye Country is scarce able to afford us any. Last night a boat went with ye Tide to the Towne and thereby their want of powder and match (I believe) is supplied. It was moved tyme enough that ye River might be guarded to provide supplies but then it was conceived either not necessary or not desirable [Add MSS. 11,331].

Finally Brereton was summoned to Parliament to answer these charges in person and to fulfil his obligations as knight of the shire. He left Nantwich for London June 13, 1645, the responsibility for the conduct of military operations in the counties in which he had formerly been in sole command being vested in the newly formed Committees, and it was not until the middle of October, 1645, that he returned to command the forces before Chester in collaboration with the Chester Committee.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The Battle of Rowton Heath.

It must have gladdened the hearts of the besieged in Chester, who doubtless crowded along the walls watching the enemy which had so fiercely and persistently hemmed them in and reduced them to such painful distress, making their careful way over the Dee, up to their middle in water. It does not appear that the Royalists attempted any pursuit, though Sir Wm. Brereton reports to the Committee in London that they had made good their retreat to the several garrisons without loss. What hearty congratulations there must have been exchanged within those much-battered walls! What good news to hear that some at least of the enemy had been taken in their bath at Pulford (Pulford brook must have been deeper and wider than it is at present) and that these Roundheads should have been obliged to take refuge and, naked, find their sanctuary in the Parish Church, which no doubt they had often desecrated in their fanatical spleen.

May 19. Nantwich.

Sir W. Brereton reports to the Committee of both Kingdoms that "forces have made good their retreate to ye severall garrisons without any losse, tho the enemy were nearer to Nantwich than we were."

On the same day Brereton writes to the Earl of Leven :—

On Saturday night soe soon as I received intelligence of their [the enemy's] cominge to Newport I commanded ye forces in ye Leaguer to be drawne together and those wh were on the Welch side part of them came over on boate at Eccleston a mile from Chester ye rest marched over ye ffoards three miles above Chester through wh our ffoote marched to ye middle in water and marched afterwards ye same day twenty miles to this garrison for preservation thereof the losse whereof would have bin the losse of the whole country.

May 15. 9 at night. Holt.—Coll. Trevor to Lord Byron.

My Lord,

I came this morneing to Holt where I mett with yr Lpp orders about ye Cheshire quarters which as ye business now is I doe not hould it to be soe good, as to take advantage of these Rebbles that are now on retreate, as I came hither this morning there was a party of them on Cheshire side towards Alford, of which wee tooke twelve prisoners and killed three, about twelve of ye clocke that day wee fell up to Pulford where wee found them grasseing their horses and ye officers and troopers swimming in ye River. Wee took forty of their horses and armes and eight prisoners and ye rest fell naked into ye Church to their shelter on foote. If I can possibly leave as soon as they begin to move I will be in ye reare of him. This night about seven of ye clocke Capt. Carter came with his troope to Farne whence a party of ours took seven of his men and had taken himselfe and all ye rest but for the goodness of their horses. As soon as ye way is cleare I will waite on your Lordship who am

Your Lordshpp humble servt M. Trevor.

Brereton had already (May 13th) sent notice from Tarvin to the "Gentlemen of Nantwich that ample preparation should be made for emergencies. The Committee expect garrisons to be well provided. What is not brought in is but left to sustain and nourish ye enemy. Set all your people in town on worke to finish and strengthen your workes. Make Proclamation that every inhabitant in ye Towne make speedy provision for the month beforehand."

But he himself did not remain long at Nantwich. On the 21st he is at Knutsford, on his way to the great rendezvous at Barlow Moor in view of the King's movement in the direction of Yorkshire. The next day and the day following he is at Manchester, on the 24th at Stockport, then at Dunham, Withington, and back again for May 27th at Stockport [See Appendix I.].

1645. May 27.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.

Have been for five or six days at Barlow Moor. Have brought up Cheshire horse and dragoones and what foot could possibly be spared which was Col. Duckinfield's regiment, and have sent for more.

Chester, however was not to be delivered so easily from the net which the enemy had been so long drawing round the loyal city.

Though the Parliamentary forces had been withdrawn on the side of Wales (" in safety " as Brereton congratulates himself) and though this withdrawal was regarded by the Royalists as " a retreat," the blockade was continued unremittingly on the English side, and the " garrison " at Tarvin and Hooton were as watchful as before. While Hawarden Castle was left undisturbed the siege of Beeston Castle was maintained. Messengers and letter-carriers, when caught, were hanged without mercy.

1645. May 20. 2 in y^e aft^n.—To Sir William Brereton.

Noble Sir, Even now Tho : Welchman's wife of Chester being turned out of Chester came to us, and told us that Ralph Bennett (our foote post) was taken prisoner when he went with y^e letter to L^t Coll. Jones on Saturday night and was hanged in Chester yesterday; he died with much couradge, and told them he was hanged for his other sinnes and not for his relacon to this Cause. Wee have two letter carriers now in Tarvin wee think fitt to mencon them unto you that (if you and y^e counsell of warr think fit) they may undergoe y^e like pleasure. Wee desire answer to

RO : VENABLES.
JOHN BRUEN—RO : GREGG.

1645. May 18. From aboard the Rebecka.—Capt. Stephen Rich to Sir William Brereton.

My bote was yesterday at Chester and gave the Towne an Alarum and shott in to y^e Towne with one of our Gunnes, but by their slownes in shooteing, I conceive it may be very probable they are slenderly provided with powder. I w^d desire y^r honor to order me to be provided with some boates against y^e next spring that I may be furnished to attempt some designes worth note. This night I intend to fetch of that ship that is under Flint Castell.

The besieged were still subject to alarums and endangered by bombardment. The country round was in a distressful condition, for the troopers did not cease their marauding expeditions of which so many complaints had been made earlier in the siege.

The Committee, June 3rd, complains to Brereton of " the intolerable miscarriage of your troopers by robbing, spoiling, and plundering of the people; swearing, drinking and all kind of debaucheries," and desires him to inflict exemplary punishment.

The humble and hasty remonstrance and complaint of y^e^ reg^t^ of Col. Duckinfield (now on service in y^e^ leaguer before Chester) both in respect of themselves and others their distressed and grievously oppressed Parents and friends and neighbours.

To Sir William Brereton.

Constrained once more to complaine and say that they have soe often petitioned and sought for relief and redress of y^e^ intollerable payments and pressing that long have and still doe lye, and are dayly increased and continued. They are impoverished and undone—burdened with such as pretend themselves to be friend and yet bye devouring and depriving them of their estates—not content with such provision of victuals as they have to relieve their poore families withall, but daily threatening them if they will not provide better, protesting that they will not remove their quarters until they have either eaten them up or be beaten out of them. In meantime wounding and abusing such of our friends and neighbours as doe not observe their comands. Before leaving their quarters, they will have such horses as they can find.

On Monday, June 9th, a party consisting of six companies of foot and three of horse, sallied out of the city towards Stapleford, to plunder the adjacent villages, and took Capt. Glegg and his troop of horse in their quarters. They were, however, speedily rescued by Lt.-Col. Venables, the Governor of Tarvin, who marched towards Christleton, cut off the retreat of the Royalists, and pursued them in the direction of Eaton, Rushton and Delamere forest, taking about two hundred prisoners, thirty horse, three hundred arms, a barrel and many bags of powder. At this skirmish, Sir John Powell, formerly High Sheriff of Cheshire, and one of the Commissioners of Array, was captured [*Civil War in Cheshire*, Rec. Soc., Vol. xix.]. Early in July, a small party of horse marched up to Chester and drew a troop of horse into an ambuscade already prepared for them. Nine were killed, several taken prisoners, including thirty horse, and the remainder routed [Watson MSS. No. 1, fol. 216].

The inhabitants of Chester were to experience greater hardships and closer privation in the third stage of this long and eventful siege. The first stage ended with the visit of Prince Rupert which resulted happily in the temporary

raising of the siege, March 11, 1643-4. The second stage was brought to a close by the sudden abandonment of the siege of Hawarden Castle and the withdrawal of Brereton's troops in that part of the leaguer, in consequence of the King's alarming march northwards. Active proceedings however, against Chester, did not commence until late in September. Elsewhere, in the interval, events of considerable importance had occurred. Cromwell had been made Lieutenant-General of the Parliamentary forces (June 10th); and the battle of Naseby had been fought, so fatal to the Royalist cause (June 14th).

We can imagine how anxiously the Mayor, Charles Walley (in his second year of office), and his loyal fellow citizens followed the uncertain fortunes of their Royal Master. They had borne themselves stoutly during many long months, and had freely expended for his cause blood and treasure. Their loyalty and steadfastness were to be put to a more severe test.

The Assembly Book at this period has no entries after April 8th for more than three months, and the first order recorded after this interval is dated August 21, 1645, directing a thorough cleansing of the streets and backlanes in the city [A.O. 650]. This duty, we can quite understand, was most necessary after the crowded condition of the city during the preceding months of the close blockade.

Early in August, the Committee at Nantwich wrote to the Speaker, asking him to present to Parliament the Remonstrance of the county:

A Remonstrance of the Deputy Lieutenants and Gentlemen of the County Palatine of Chester of the condition of that county and of the great advantage the reducing of the city of Chester would bring to the State and their humble request thereupon . . . . that it may please this honourable House—the wealth of the county being well nigh exhausted and not longer able to subsist—to afford such timely assistance of horse and foot as you in your wisdom shall think fit for the reducing of Chester, on which depends the well being of this County, Lancashire, Shropshire, North Wales and the North part of England and also of Ireland, and that these forces be not maintained at the charge of the County. That shipping may be appointed for the guard of the Irish seas to hinder the Irish

from landing in England or Wales, who are daily expected, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale now sent into Wales with a power of horse to attend their landing. That our horse and dragoons be armed . . . . [Portland MSS., 239].

Lenthall replied, August 28th

The House defers assistance in reducing Chester until September 8th, hoping affairs before then may be in a more certain condition with relation to the forces now with the King that give alarms to so many parts of this Kingdom and by their speedy motions make all such undertakings hazardous [Portland MSS., 262].

It would appear that the citizens were surprised when active operations were resumed on September 20th.

A force detached from the troops besieging Beeston Castle and consisting of 500 Horse, 200 Dragoons and 700 foot advanced stealthily "by bywayes through the country in the dead of the night" and at daybreak proceeded to storm the suburbs. Seizing with little loss (either by treachery or through the negligence of the garrison) a mount near Deeside at Boughton, they set upon the main line of defences and captured all the mounts on that side of the city. Then forcing their way through the Bars into Foregate Street, they obtained possession of the north-western suburb up to the Eastgate, taking as a trophy and a token of " good presage " the sword and mace, which were probably in the Mayor's house in St. John's Ward afterwards occupied by Sir Wm. Brereton as his headquarters.

1645. September 23.—Sir Thomas Widdrington to Sir H. Vane, sen.

The outworks of West Chester are taken which gives some hopes of that city itself [surrendering]. In these outworks are taken, I know not by what accident, the sword and mace of the Mayor of Chester, so that the ensigns of the authority of that city are gained before the City itself, which may be thought for a good presage [S.P. Dom.]

This success encouraged the Parliamentarians to hope that, with a special effort, the siege of Chester might be brought to a rapid close, and the authorities in London at once dispatched urgent messages to the neighbouring counties calling for immediate reinforcements. The letters quoted show that Chester was regarded by both sides as "a

place of very great consequence both for the reducing and settling of all North Wales and for preventing the landing of any Irish supplies."

1645. September 26. Derby House.—Committee of both Kingdoms to Committee of County Stafford.

You must have heard of the taking of suburbs of Chester and know the importance to our N.W. parts to have that place reduced. We therefore desire you to send all the force you can spare with your own safety, to assist in that undertaking before the place receive further reinforcements from the enemy, which may render it more difficult of accomplishment. We are informed of the march of the King's forces that way and have given order to follow them closely, which we doubt not will prevent the besiegers from being interrupted by the enemy's forces.

1645. September 26. Derby House. Committee of both Kingdoms to Col.-Gen[l] Poyntz.

We have information that the King, with most of his forces is marched towards Chester. If he be not closely followed our forces that have lately so happily surprised the suburbs and are in a fair way to take the town will be endangered. Chester is a place of very real consequence both for the reducing and settling of all North Wales and for preventing the landing of any Irish supplies. We desire to thank you for your diligence in following the King's party hitherto and now would have you to follow them so closely that they may not be able to give any impediment to the progress of the works before Chester.

1645. September 26. Derby House.—Committee of both Kingdoms to Governors of Montgomery and Oswestry.

You must have heard of the taking by our forces of the suburbs of Chester, and know the importance of that town which is more likely to be taken if the besiegers be reinforced, and the city itself kept from obtaining further supplies. We have written to the Committees of Stafford, Salop, and Lancashire to send what forces they can spare for that work, and have given orders to Col. Gen[l] Poyntz to march close up to the King, who we hear is marched that way with most of his forces. We desire you to make the utmost improvement you can of your forces so as to alarm the Welsh, that they may not furnish supplies to the city of Chester on that side being there open. This we hope you may in a good measure prevent if your forces be active and stirring in these parts.

1645. September 26.—Committee of both Kingdoms to Committee of Shropshire.

You must have heard of the taking by our forces of the suburbs of Chester, and know the importance of that town which is more likely to be taken if the besiegers be reinforced, and the city itself kept from obtaining further supplies. We doubt not that with your usual promptitude you have already prevented our desires and sent some force to join with those of Cheshire for the taking of Chester. But knowing the importance of that place and the prospect afforded by this surprise of the suburbs for the capture of the city, if the siege be effectually followed and not interrupted, we have thought fit to desire you to send thither what force you can with safety to your own parts. We are informed that the King with his chief force is marched that way, followed by Col.-Gen[l] Poyntz to whom we have again written to follow so close that the King may not interrupt the business at Chester.

The citizens were equally active in taking precautions against the expected assault in force. The Eastgate was rammed up with earth; the houses in Cow Lane and St. John's Lane and St. Thomas Street (on the Boughton side) were burnt to deprive the enemy of shelter, occasional sallies were made, with indifferent success, and marksmen on the walls and towers were keeping up a constant fire. The besiegers were equally busy on their side. From the steeple of St. John's Church they had an excellent position for annoying the citizens and on Monday, September 22nd, a large breach was made by their artillery in the walls near the Newgate sufficient to admit ten men abreast. Vigorous attempts were made to make good this breach with beds and woolpacks,[35] and after a sharp fight at eight in the evening

[35] 1645. 3 October.—Ordered the one half of the beddes, woolI packes & other necessaryes provided for the making upp of Breaches be forthwith carried to [S Bridge]t's Church into some house near there, & the other halfe to bee putt into the house of Alderman Harvey neare the Breach.

1645. 6 October.—Order to Alderman Holme to take from the Glovers such coarse wool as they had to be made into packs, & employed in filling up the Breaches.

1645. 23 October. Chester.—To Mr. Ald. Holme and Mr. Edward Russell & either of them. I doe order and require that such bedds and other things which upon repaire of the several Breaches shall bee taken out bee putt into the Common Store for that purpose appointed & that they be not disposed of from thence without express order.

1645. 28 October.—To Alderman Holmes jun. You are hereby desired & required to deliver unto Lieutenant Colonel John Robinson for the use of the fort [on back 'for mount'] twelve woolpackes [H. 2135].

the enemy were beaten back with considerable loss by the courageous defence of the Chirk Castle troop. A simultaneous attempt was made by another body to scale the walls on the east between the Sadlers' Tower and the Eastgate, but they were beaten off with much loss.

King Charles at this time was on his way from Hereford, intending to pass through Lancashire and Cumberland into Scotland. On receiving information of the critical position at Chester, he marched at once for the city, which he entered with " some hazard " at Handbridge on Tuesday, September 23rd, attended by Lord Lichfield and Lord Gerrard and a small body-guard.

And thus we continued our march, until we came to Chester, where we found my Ld Byron in command in ye town, and ye enemy in ye subburs, and so close yt it was some hazard to ye King to pass ye bridge [Slingsby's Diary, p. 168].

The King lodged that night at Sir Francis Gamull's house in Bridge Street. The remainder of the King's troops under Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched on towards Holt Castle, where Sir Richard Lloyd was in command, and crossing the Dee by the bridge took up a position on Rowton Heath about two miles from Chester. General Poyntz, of whose movements the Royal party seem to have been entirely ignorant, had been ordered by the Parliamentary Committee to follow the King, and prevent him from relieving Chester. By a shorter way he had already arrived at Whitchurch, intending to proceed to the assistance of the party before the walls of Chester. From Whitchurch he sent a letter to Col. Jones, who commanded the horse that besieged the city, informing him that he was coming to their assistance. This letter was intercepted by Sir Richard Lloyd. It had never been anticipated that they would have to meet Poyntz; but now that they knew his intentions, it was deemed advisable to assume the offensive, and to give him an attack. Not a word was sent to inform the King of his resolution; but Langdale, although his horse was tired with the long march overnight, rushed on recklessly, came upon Poyntz between the Dee and Beeston Castle, and drove him well back, but did not rout him. He

*Frank Simpson, F.S.A., Photo.* *Copyright.*

Jacobean Fireplace in the Gamull House, Lower Bridge Street, Chester, where Charles the First stayed September 23-25, 1645.

at once sent Colonel Shakerley to inform the King that he had obeyed his orders in checking Poyntz' advance, and to ask for further orders. " The Colonel executed his orders with better speed than could be expected for he galloped directly to the River Dee, under Huntington House, got a wooden tub (used for slaughtering of swine) and a batting staff (used for batting of coarse linen) for an oar, put a servant into the tub with him and in this desperate manner swam over the river, his horse swimming by him (for the banks there were very steep and the river very deep) ordered his servant to stay there with the tub for his return, and was with the King in little more than a quarter of an hour after he left Sir Marmaduke. This expeditious method saved him the going nine or ten miles about by Holt Bridge."[36]

This speedy transmission of intelligence did not save the situation. Although preparations were made early in the day " to have a sally, and the citizens were busy in clearing out the dung y$^{t}$ barricaded y$^{e}$ gate y$^{t}$ led to y$^{e}$ suburbs [the Eastgate—Slingsby] such delays were made by some about the King that no orders were sent, nor any sally made out of the city by the King's party till past three o'clock in the afternoon, which was full six hours after Poyntz had been beaten back " [Shakerley]. In all probability if the soldiers within the city had acted in concert with Langdale, the victory would have been on their side; but for want of intelligence, Gerrard and those who were with the King remained in Chester, ignorant of what was going on. Through some misunderstanding, Lord Gerrard ordered Langdale to draw nearer Chester, where some foot would be ready to support him. This was impracticable as Sir Marmaduke would then have been open to attack in rear as well as in front, for Poyntz had now had time to rally his forces, and in obedience to his message was reinforced about noon by 500 horse and 300 foot under Colonel Jones and Adjutant-General Lowthian, drawn hurriedly from the force besieging Chester. This hasty

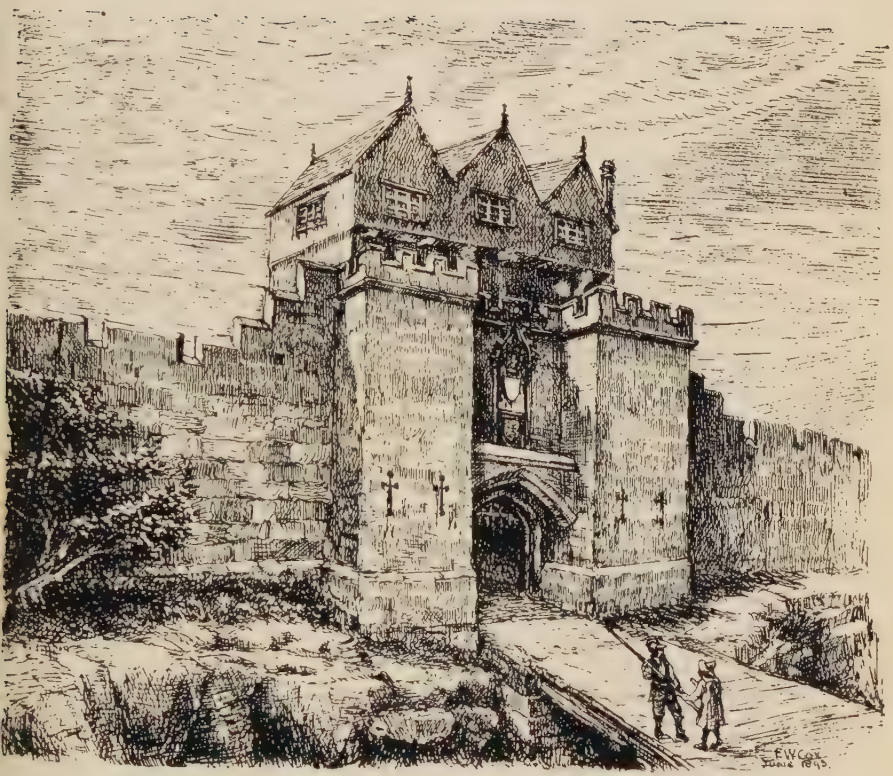
[36] Mr. Peter Shakerley's account written on one of the blank pages of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

march of the Parliamentarians was mistaken for flight, and a considerable portion of the garrison, with Lord Gerrard and Lord Lichfield were ordered to pursue, passing through the Northgate round by Flookers brook, as the direct way by the Eastgate had been blocked up. Before they could learn their mistake, Poyntz fell upon Langdale, who was then compelled to meet his assault in front as well as Colonel Jones' attack in rear, and notwithstanding a gallant resistance, he was routed and forced to retire in the direction of Hoole Heath. Here the Royalist horse became so disordered, and the narrow lanes and passes between this and Chester became so crowded, that they were unable to make an effectual stand, and, in fact, threw their own supporters under Lord Gerrard into irremediable confusion. Some made for Holt Bridge, others crossed the river at Dee Ford, and so into the city; but Poyntz, satisfied with his unexpected success, made no attempt to pursue them. Thus the victorious engagement in the early morning was changed in a few hours into a disastrous defeat. No less than 600 men fell in this fatal battle, among them several of high rank and distinction, and more than 800 prisoners were taken, the names of no less than 469 of whom, taken to Nantwich on September 26th, are recorded in Add. MSS. 11,332, folios 16-18. Amongst the slain was Bertie Stuart the young Earl of Lichfield, and Gerrard and Langdale were both wounded.

1645. September 25. 3 p.m. Chester Suburbs.—G. Boothe, Ph. Mainwaringe, Rog. Wilbraham to William Lenthall.

Honourable Sir,

We still keep the Suburbs of Chester, and yesterday joyning our forces with Major Generall Poyntz, God gave us a great Victory over the Kings Army, whereby God hath not onely given us, but the Kingdom much cause of joy and thankfulnesse : We have such earnest business at present upon us, that we our selves cannot have time to represent to you the particulars, but have commanded the Chaplain to our Forces, who was an eye witnes to all that was done, to give you a full accompt thereof : All that we shall trouble you with at instant, is to renew our humble requests, that you will be pleased to expedite our Remonstrance, and procure a speedy Order for moneys to be with all possible speed conveyed to us; other-



The Old North Gate.

From a Drawing by Randle Holme.

wise we shall not be able to keep such forces together as are necessary for this work :

And so with tender of our Service, rest

Your most humble Servants,

G. Boothe.
Ph. Mainwaringe.
Rog. Wilbraham.

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A true Relation of the great Fight and Routing the Kings forces on Routon Heath, Sept. 24th.

It pleased God upon Saturday morning, September 20, 1645, about break of day to deliver into the hands of the Cheshire Forces, though few in number, under the command of Col. Michael Jones, and Adjutant Louthian, The Suburbs of the City of Chester, formerly accounted for to Sir Wil. Brereton; in which expedition (though by storm) we lost but one man; the Enemy fired most part of the Suburbs, Cow-lane, St. Johns Lane, and the street without the North gate; our care was to hasten to the taking of the City, without which the diseased county could never be cured. Vpon the Lords day we brought in our Artillery, fixt a battery, & upon Monday made a great breach in the wall, resolving to storm it at night, which we endeavoured in three or four places, but the Ladders proved too short, and the breach too high on the inside, so they made their retreat with the losse of two men, and some wounded. The Suburbs were entred by Captain Gimbert, the breach by Captain Finch, both of them stout and trusty men; though God deferred that mercy we hoped for, in gaining the City, he gave us a better, the utter Routing and spoiling of the Kings Army; which was thus performed.

Our intelligence upon Monday September 21st, was, that the King was at Chirke Castle, intending for Chester : Upon Tuesday, two trusty men were sent to seek Major Gen. Poyntz, who was appointed to follow the King, but we heard nothing of him; they meeting with him at Whitchurch, and acquainting him with our present condition (who were like to be stormed that night) he hastned away, marched all night, though tired with long marches before : About six a clock Wednesday morning, he advanced within a mile of the Enemy, three miles from Chester, the one not knowing of the other; upon notice, both set themselves in a posture; Generall Poyntz upon Hatton Heath, divided from the Enemy on the Milne Heath by a Lane, they being betwixt him and the City : he first charged them though upon a disadvantage, because the Enemies whole body was not come up, but had a repulse, in which that gallant Gentleman Col. Graves was sore wounded, & Col. Bethell, but

not so dangerously; about twenty men slain, many wounded; but we hear the Enemies losse was greater, however, upon the retreat, it was noised that Gen. Poyntz was utter Routed, which was sad news to our Forces in Chester; who upon consultation, at first thought it fit to quit the Suburbs, least the Army miscarrying, all should be lost; but upon intelligence that Poyntz kept his ground and stood in a body, they resolved to keep what ground they had gotten for the gaining of Chester, and to assist Generall Poyntz with Horse and Foot, which he sent for, and they promised: The signall of their march from the Suburbs was the discharge of two piece of Ordnance, at which there was great shouting in Generall Poyntz campe, who without us could neither charge the Enemy, nor make good their Retreat if need should require: God in his good Providence deferred the work to that time of the day, that we might finde the fruit of many Prayers made for us, it being the monethly Fast, and by this accession to vindicate our innocency, who were asperst for a factious county, and mutinous Souldiery, though we can proffesse it before God and the world, that we know not that county where the Gentry and Commanders are more firmly cemented in the band of true affection than this, nor a Souldiery more obedient to commands, constant upon duty, and now free from mutinies. Many of the Gentlemen of the county resorted to us, gave their best assistance for the carrying on of this work, upon whose shoulder no small burden lies to regulate these troubled affairs: It was agreed by them, that Col. Jones, a dextrous and resolute Souldier, should go out with the command of Horse and Foot, 350 and 500. The Foot were led by Col. John Booth, governor of Warington, who was very forward in that Expedition: Adjutant Gen. Louthian, a man of known worth, was to keep the suburbs, a work of great trust & courage.

When these forces joyned with Gen. Poyntz there was a great joy in the camp, the Enemy formed themselves into a body upon Routon Heath, two miles from Chester, and stood in Batalia, being about 5000 as their owne party confesse, having drained their Garrisons: We hastned towards them in the best posture we could, the Horse was the Battell, because many, the wings were Foot because few; they had the Wind and Sun; we had God with us, which was our Word, counterpoising all disadvantages, and countermanding all strength; a little before five a clock, we joyned in a terrible storm, firing in the faces of one another, hacking and slashing with swords neither party gain'd or lost a foot of ground, as if everyone were resolved there to breathe their last: Whilst the dispute was so hot and doubtfull, our Musquetiers so galled their horse, that their

Rear fled, perceiving their losse by them, upon whom they made no Execution. Their Van perceiving that, faced about, and fled also : We had nothing then to do, but to pursue and make Execution, which we did to purpose, for though the ways were strewed with Arms, Portmantles, Cloakbags, and Horse, we left those to any that would pillage, and fell to Execution : Some part we chased to Holt bridge, the most towards Chester; some say the King was in the field, others that he went out with a party, next after mentioned; but certain it is, he went out from the City by the North gate, and thither retreated, for that gate is without our Works.

A memorable service was performed by the Shropshire Forces, at the appointment of Lieutenant Louthiane, who were part of them that kept the suburbs. When Collonel Jones was marcht out to joyne with Generall Poyntz, there issued out after him through the North-gate (with which party its affirmed the King went) about five hundred horse and three hundred foote of the Kings and Queens Regiments and General Gerrards Lifeguard. Adjutant Louthiane sent after them about two hundred of the Shropshire horse, commanded by Lieutenant Collonel Coote in chiefe, the second division by Collonel Prince, the last by Ma : Fenwick and two hundred foote commanded by Captain Daniell, these gallantly performed what they undertooke, routed and chased the enemy, slew the Earle of Leichfield and others, tooke divers principall officers and followed the execution foure miles.

After we thought the work was ended, the enemy made head againe, and they that escaped in the field and about Chester, joyned in another body, fell upon part of our forces with advantage (for they were desperate seeing they had lost the day) drave them to our mud walls, where the guards made execution on them, and some small measure upon ours in the reare, through mistake : so they fled towards Bridgetrafford being ignorant of the Foote, where they were driven into deepe ditches and boggy places. The Country men set on them there, tooke one hundred horse and sixty persons. Others fled into the forrest where they are met with.

Whilst wee were thus engaged in the field the enemy taking advantage of the small number left in the suburbs attempted the regaining of them in many places; but were everywhere gallantly repulsed with losse by Adjutant Louthiane.

We cannot give a particular account of the number of the slaine, which were many, neither know we our owne losse, but that it is very small. Wee have taken the Earle of Portlands brother, with many considerable persons : Knights, and officers, above one thousand prisoners; And its probable that

of the five thousand they say was in the field, the King will hardly rally one thousand, wee desire the honour of this victory may be given to God alone, to whom alone it is due, his Instruments behaved themselves gallantly, the Cheshire Horse were knowne most couragious, we desire not vainely to glory in any thing God hath done by us, but let the world say whether wee have been backward in the work committed to us as some have suggested.

Let Souldiers judge what it is for so small a force to maintaine the leaguer at Beeston, take and keep the outworks of Chester, to assist others a farre off, and these in the field, and runne all hazard, rather than quit a foot of what we have gained. Neither will we fixe here. These are but the beginning of action to us, since our new moddle, so successfull, so much despised.

Upon Parliamentary supplyes already Petitioned, we trust in him, whouse souldiers we are, to give as good account of our after proceedings, both in reducing this County and assisting the neighbourhood.

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Prisoners taken at, and after the Rowting of the Kings Forces on Rowton Heath within two miles of Chester, the twenty-fourth of September, 1645.

Sir Philip Musgrave, Major Generall.

*Collonels* :

Sir Thomas Dawbridge-courte.[37]
Sir Thomas Dacres.
Sir Michael Constable.
Sir Thomas Goare.
Sir Henry Stradling.
Johan Philiem Heitter.
Weston, sonne to the late Lord Treasurer.
Gifford.
Cromwell.
Fletcher.

*Lieutenant Collonels* :

Mathon, Millington, Hatton, Salkeld, Ruly, Broughton, Rutherford.

*Majors* :

Williams, Morris, Magduggell, Magdoole, Lacymouth.

*Captaines* :

Martin, Swinhoe, Henshaw, White, Gibbon, Starling, Sheley, Conyers, Johnson, Dixon, Presse, Louther, Willey, Moreton, Simpson, Bell, Boulton, Vaughan, St. Michaels, Captain of the Queens Troop, with him a Scarfe taken, which the Queen took from about her necke, and gave him to weare as Colours for her.

[37] "In this last battaile att Chester it was my ill fortune to be taken prisoner, and am now at Nantwich, and heare this morninge I must be sent to Pomfrett Castle." Is without a penny and begs for an order to be speedily removed to London.—Letter to his friend John Crewe, Esq. [of Utkinton], at Westminster, dated from Nantwich, Sept. 29, 1645 [Sheaf, x, 81].

*Lieutenants* :
Cottrell, Morgan, Bartrom, Astelby, Story, Colborne, Constable, Mansfield, Skipwith, Jefferson, Power, Brooke, Whitney, Ellyott

*Cornets* :
Elsing, Julyan, Rainsford, Morley, Pierson, Fitz-Williams, Smith.

*Quartermasters* :
Thomas Shelden, the Kings Quartermaster, Collizer, Lowe, Brere.
Trumpets five.
Corporalls two.
Gentlemen of the Kings Lifeguards, seventeen.
Twenty more Gentlemen.
Troopers between eight hundred and a thousand.
Master Sherburne of Stanyhurst, Master William Leighton, Master Lewis Darcy, Master Henry Boucher, Master James Mountague, Master Gilbert Markham.
These very considerable Gentlemen.

*Slaine* :
Two Lords [Earl of Lichfield, one] two Knights [Sir Brian Stapleton, one] one Collonel, one Lieutenant-Collonel, and three hundred and more Officers and Common Souldiers.

[*Cheshire Civil War Tracts*, xxviii].

1645. September 25. Miller's Heath.—Colonel-General Sednham Poyntz to William Lenthall.

Sir,

In the conclusion of a hard march it hath pleased God to deliver the enemy into our hands, wherein he hath sufficiently manifested his providence. Yesterday we discovered the enemy on Millers heath within three miles of Chester, whereupon I sent to Chester for some foot, which was very seasonably sent me, and in my advance towards them we unawares met a body of them in a narrow passe on the top of the heath, where we had a very violent encounter, wherein we cut off many of the Kings Life-guard and routed the rest, then we retreated to our maine body, and toward foure of the clock in the afternoon we advanced toward them, and finding the enemy ready for battell we presently fell upon them, kild, tooke, wounded, and routed the whole army, and I am confident they never received a greater blow. I have onely a Catalogue of a few, the rest being sent to Tarvin and other garrisons in these parts, cannot as yet be collected. These Colonels, Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Thomas Dacres, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Thomas Dawbridge-court, Sir Tho. Gower, Col. Tho. Weston, sonne to the Earle of Portland, and Col. Cromwell, Iames Martin, Quartermaster generall, Col. John Gifford, Lieutenant Col. Edward Hatton, and Lieut.-Col. Constable, Cap. Wyvell, Cap. Cottrill, Cap.

Morgan, Cap. Mountaine, Cap. Le Strange, Cap. Swinho, and Cap. Constable. Its reported Sir Marmaduke Langdale is either killed or taken : you shall with all conveniency receive a compleat List from me. There was killed the Earle of Litchfield, brother to the Duke of Lenox, and Sir Brian Stapleton a notorious papist, who was lately in Ireland His Majesties sollicitor for ten thousand men. In this tender of my service I desire it may be forthwith communicated to the House, from whom I desire to receive further orders, in the meanetime I shall continue thereabouts, using my endeavours in reducing this City, wherein, and in all other my endeavours, shall ever rest,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

SEDNHAM POYNTZ.

Gerrard is deadly wounded if not already slaine.

This Gentleman Colonell Parsons having the charge of bringing up the reserves, has done very good service in the discharge thereof. I desire the House may think of some further incouragement for the Yorkeshire horse.

Col. Beathell and Col. Graves deserves very much for their services.

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The Relation of Colonell Parsons communicated to both Houses of Parliament, September 29, 1645.

About the 18th of August last, the King with about 4000 horse and Dragoones advanced into Yorkshire. The 19th, Col. Rossiters horse came up to Generall Poyntz. The 21st, they joyned with the Scots and Cheshire horse, a dayes rest the Scots horse would have, the next day all marched; But the King got by that meanes a dayes retreat before, whom Gen. Poyntz according to his Order from the Committee of both Kingdomes, through many difficulties pursued above 300 miles, not resting above a day in any place. The knowledge of the Kings advance for the reliefe of Chester, being the onely certain intelligence he received of his motion, he marched day and night to be there before him, and tooke in a strong house with a Draw-bridge, moted, (which stood in the way of his march, and opposed him) in lesse than an houres space; And after a very hard march all night, on the 24th of this instant in the morning, his Van curriers discovered the enemy on a moore within two miles of Chester called Rowton-moore, whereupon immediately he drew into Order, and advanced upon them (though all his force were not then come up) for he supposed to take the enemy at unawares, it being probable they could have no intelligence of his being so neare, though it proved otherwise, for his Letters (written that night to the Commander

within the out-Lines of Chester, giving notice of his advance) were intercepted and the enemy being possessed of the advantage of ground, and in order confronted our van led by Colonell Hugh Bethell in the middest of a Lane betwixt two Moores covered with the armed men of both Battaliaes, where was given a very sharp and gallant charge by bothe parties, for after Pistolls were discharged at halfe Pikes distance, they disputed the matter with their Swords a full quarter of an houre, neither yielding ground to other, till at length the enemy were forced to retreate, whom, our men pursuing were re-encountred by a fresh reserve at the Lanes mouth, and they were likewise discomfited, and a third, but being over powred were in the end forced to retreate in the Lane, uncapable of receiving a Reserve to second them : here wee had some losse, the enemy pursuing to the Lanes end, but were beaten back, for there were space for our reserves to advance, Colonell Bethell and Colonell Graves were then sore wounded, after this the Generall perceiving the enemy lay upon his advantage, only skirmished him with some flying parties, while he held correspondency with his friends in Chester Suburbs, whose signe was the discharge of two peeces of Ordnance when they would issue out with horse and foot to joyne with him, upon whose appearing the enemy quitted their station, and the Generall with a party advanced to take the most convenient ground giveing command to Colonel Parsons Quartermaster generall of the Army, Col. Sandies who performed the duty of Commissary Generall of the horse, during the aforesaid march being then imployed to the Committee of both Kingdomes to order up the rest, which was opportunely done, for they joyned with the Auxiliary force of horse and foote in the enemies ground, and was drawn into many small divisions and reserves, being much overnumbered by the enemy, who accompted themselves 5000 horse, and Gen. Poyntz not above 2500 horse, besides two small bodies of foote, who were disposed in the two outmost intervals of horse; upon the very instant of this juncture the enemy advanced with their whole body, and the General (leaving the charge of the reserves to Col. Parsons) tooke care of, and led up the van divisions, with which after a round volley of shot from the foot, he joyned battell, charging the enemy in Front and Flank, where his horse was deeply wounded on the head, being continually seconded with reserves as often as there was occasion, the rest being kept intire followed at a due distance; The prevailing Generall who put the Enemy to a totall rout, and although the pursuit was as hot as could be expected from such wearied horse, through narrow dirty lanes and over ditches, the enemy ralied in a great moore wide of Chester in two vast bodies a

great distance asunder, the first (not without some dispute) were again routed, and the other likewise, who retreated upon the Warwick Regiment with such violence as bore them away confusedly, intermixed with the flying enemy up to the outworkes of the Suburbs, the Musketteers within were never the lesse liberall of their Gunshot, but the Divine Providence appeared much in the distribution of the impartiall Bullets, few or none lighting upon our men, though many of the Enemy were found there expiring.

A body of horse all the while of these last disputes appeared fixed on the top of a Hill, a little distant on that side Chester, wherein the King was very confidently reputed to be, for confronting whereof a party of foot winged with Colonell Lidcot, and Colonell Bethells Regiments were drawn into a convenient Close in the bottome as a grand reserve; but the night by this time falling the body on the Hill appeared not, and those in the bottome returned to their comrades saciated with slaughter, prisoners and booty of the vanquished Enemy; while these things were thus agitated in the field the remainder of foote left with Colonell Lowthian in the Suburbs were not idle, for the Enemy made a strong rally upon them out of the City, and were more strenuously repulsed, the number of the slaine of the prisoners and horse taken is not yet knowne, but is generally conjectured 800 slaine, 1500 men and 2000 horses taken, there was brought in that night the underwritten list [already given] of the considerablest men taken and slaine in the fight, the King with a party of about five or six hundred was seen going into Wales [*Cheshire Civil War Tracts,* xxix].

1645. September 27. Chester Suburbs.—Colonel-General Sednham Poyntz to William Lenthall.

In my last I promised a perfect list of our victory. . . . which according to our common collection I have sent you inclosed. There are many considerable persons omitted being sent to Stafford and Shrewsbury, whereof I could receive no list. Sir Thomas Glemham proved to be Sir Henry Stradling, the late Governor of Carlisle. I hope you will pardon my mistake. The next morning after the fight I drew my forces out of the suburbs to Rowton Moor, where I remained till two of the clock in the afternoon, where I was counselled to quarter about Northwich where I found a great inconveniency, so that I am moved this way, and do intend over the river into Wales, taking with me 1,000 foot to make good the Welsh side, and Colonel Jones on the other side, where I shall use my utmost endeavours in reducing this place, till I receive your orders to the contrary, and shall send about 1,000 or 1,500 horse to attend the King's motion with his ragged remnant. I desire

there may be some further encouragement thought upon for the horse, for this hard march hath been very heavy duty to them [Portland MSS]. Enclosed is a list of the prisoners and slain, the former consisting of six knights and colonels, five colonels, the adjutant general, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, seven majors, eight gentlemen of quality, reformadoes, twenty captains, sixteen lieutenants, seven cornets, four quartermasters, five trumpeters, seventeen of the King's Lifeguard, twenty gentlemen, 1,200 common soldiers, and 1,500 horse, and the latter of the Earl of Lichfield, and at least 300 commanders and soldiers besides [Portland MSS., 278].

The King, attended by the Mayor, Sir Francis Gamull, and Alderman Cowper, had the unhappiness of watching this disaster, first from the Phœnix Tower, and afterwards from the Cathedral Tower, " where, as he was talking with a Captaine, a bullet from St. John's gave him a salute, narrowly missing the King, hit the said Captaine in the head " and killed him on the spot [Appendix I. p. 226].

Owing to this disaster, it was not thought advisable that the King should remain in Chester. Before his departure on the following day, he called the Mayor and leading citizens together, and desired them if he was unable to send them the aid he expected within eight or ten days, to make the best conditions of surrender they could. Instead of pursuing his route to Scotland he returned into Wales, passing over Dee Bridge between nine and ten in the morning, accompanied by Sir Francis Gamull, Captain Throppe, and Alderman Cowper. After staying three hours at Hawarden Castle, he reached Denbigh Castle the same night, and on the following Sunday, September 28th, he passed on through Ruthin to Chirk Castle, where he was met by Prince Maurice.

We marched over y^e^ bridge in y^e^ day, having set up some blinds y^t^ they might not take notice so easily when y^e^ King pass'd over, and except one horse y^t^ was killed, I think no other took any harm [*Slingsby Diary*].

Symonds's " Continuation of the Marchings of the Royal Army " [Harl. MSS., 944] provides an interesting commentary on these events :—

Monday, September 22nd. Over such mountaynes to Chirke Castle, com. Salop. There the King lay . . . . Watts is

Governor. The guards to Llangothlyn, a market towne, com. Denbigh, three myle from Chirke. Newes this day that Col. Willm Legge, the Governr of Oxon, was committed. That P. Rupert's commission was declared null.

That part of the outworks at Chester were betrayed to the enemy by a captain and liett., both apprehended.

The King sent to Watts to send to Lord Byron to Chester to hold out twenty-four hours.

Tuesday, his Matie marched towards Chester, attended with Montague Ea. of Lindsey, Ea. of Cork, Ea. of Lichfield, Lord Digby, Lord Astley, Lord Gerard. His force with him were his own regt. of Life-Guards, consisting of these troops : the King's ; the Queene's, commanded by Sr Edw. Bertt, the Major of the regiment ; Earl of Lichfield's, Lt.-Col. Gourdon, Scot., commanded it. They were most Scotch officers ; Sir Henry Stradling's troope which came from Carlisle with Sir Thomas Glemham. Toto, about 200. Lord General Charles Gerard was also there with the K., with his gallant troope of life-guards, 150 men. Col Herbt Price his horse ; Sir Marmaduke Langdale's brigade ; Sir Thomas Blakstone's brigade, and Sir William Vaughan's brigade, and General Gerard's horse marched before all night toward Holt Castle, a garrison of the King's commanded by Sir Richard Lloyd, where we have a pass of boats over ye river. Their business was to fall upon those horse and foot that lay before Chester. The King went into Chester and lay at Sir Francis Gamul's house : his guards watched in the street. The enemy, who were gotten into the outworkes which secured the suburbs, had made a breach the day before, and had entered had it not bin most gallantly defended.

Wednesday, 24th of September. Contrary to expectations Pointz his horse were come betweene Nantwiche and Chester to releve those forces of their party who were afore Chester, and to fight the King, as appears by his letters, intercepted by Sir Rich. Lloyd, to this purpose directed to Jones who sometimes was student in Lincoln's Inn, and commanded the horse that besieged Chester, thanking them for keeping their ground, notwithstanding the King's approach, and tells them a neare relation or accompt of the King's strength, of his tired over-marcht horse, of his number of dragoons, of his resolution to engage them if possible.

This morning, Sir Marma. Langdale, on Chester side of the river Dee, and not far from Beeston Castle, charged Pointz his horse, beat them, and took some cornets. But they beat us agen for't.

About twelve of the clocke, those horse which came with the King and 200 foot were drawne out of Chester. 900 prisoners

of ours taken and carried to Nantwiche, whereof about twenty gentlemen of the King's own troope. Beeston Castle was besieged at this time.

Thursday, 25th. This night I saw a rainbowe within a mile of Denbigh, at five in the morning, and the moone shined bright; 'twas just against the moone. About nine and ten in the morning the King left Chester and went to Harding Castle, governed by Sir Wm. Neale, stayed three houres, and that night to Denbigh Castle. Sir M. Langdale's rendezvous was early this morning within two myles of Holt Castle.

Lord Digby, on the part of the King, writing from Denbigh (September 26th) endeavours to comfort the Governor of Chester with the promise of a good supply of provisions and reinforcements, and urges him to encourage the citizens in holding out.

1645. September 26. Denbigh.—George Lord Digby to John Lord Byron.

His Majie very well pleased with the resolution expressed by town of Chester and sends them herewithal a letter of thanks. Here is now with His Majy the Archbishop of York, Sir John Owen and diverse others with whom he has taken the best order he can for the supply of Chester with provisions, viz. butter, cheese and cattle out of those countries, as also corn out of these. The King likewise resolves to send Sir Wm Blakestone to you to Chester with a good proportion of horse, and to have a considerable body under Sir W. Vaughan for the keeping of the Welsh side [of Chester] open. I beseech you encourage the town all you can, for I do not despair but we may ere long find means to ease you of your ill neighbours.

But the situation is distinctly unpromising, for a letter of Byron's of the same date to the Marquis of Ormond, appealing earnestly for a supply of ammunition and, if possible, of men, indicates how critical he considered the situation to be, and the tone of his letter to Lord Digby on the following day is still more gloomy and desponding. The movements of General Poyntz cause him deep anxiety.

1645. September 26. Denbigh.—George Lord Digby to Marquis of Ormond.

This enclosed relation of our condition will let you see the danger of Chester, which is somewhat more than is there expressed, through want of powder. You are conjured to hasten over some supply thither of ammunition and if possible

of men. You know the great importance of that place in relation to Ireland [Carte's *Ormond Papers, I,* 90-95].

1645. September 27. 5 p.m. Chester.—John Lord Byron to George Lord Digby.

At this instant all the enemy's horse appear before the town on the Cheshire side, to-morrow, as one who comes from amongst them assures me, Poyntz passes over into Wales; so that unless the King's horse be very active in beating up their quarters and cutting off provisions from the enemy this town will speedily be enforced to a parley. The same party who comes from amongst them speaks of the great joy they express for a late victory over Montrose, whereof they are so confident that they have shot off their cannon at Nantwich and other garrisons. I do not like this return of Poyntz's horse. I fear something is amiss with my Lord of Montrose. All that can be done for the present is that the King raise the whole force of Wales and command the horse immediately to advance this way, to straiten them in their quarters, and to procure good guides.

Lord Digby's reply (October 5th) is not a whit more cheerful. He can only "hope that the King's advance to Newark will have the wished result of drawing the rebels' great body of horse from the Welsh side of Chester," and he prays "God send that you may hold out till they come." Failing this, Byron is advised what measures to take on the King's behalf towards securing North Wales and Anglesea.

1645. October 5.—George Lord Digby to John Lord Byron (chiefly in cypher).

According to what I wrote to you at large from Chirk His Majesty is advanced as far as Newark, and we hope it will have the wished result of drawing the rebels' great body of horse from the Welsh side of Chester. As for any parties that they may leave, his Majesty will instantly send back Sir W. Vaughan with strength enough to master them. God send that you may hold out till they come. If this should not be possible, for all that is possible I am sure you will do, you are then desired to apply yourself to the securing of Anglesey and North Wales, particularly of Carnarvon and 105. For the government of Conway I send you herewithal a commission.

"The Committee for War" write in a very different spirit. Thanking Poyntz warmly for his success at Rowton Moor, which is rewarded by a grant to him of £500 and £5,000 to his troops for their "better encouragement,"

they direct him to follow up the King persistently, to prevent the plunder of the country, to hinder his recruiting, and to break up the remainder of those forces against which he had already had so good success. They order him at the same time, so far as he conveniently could, to be assistant to the forces now before Chester [S.P. Dom. Sept. 30th and Oct. 6th].

There is no lack of vigour or prompt resolution in the action of this Committee. The Committees in Lancashire, Staffordshire, Derby, Shrewsbury and Yorkshire, are exhorted to help as best they can, sending all the troops that can possibly be spared, for "the service is of very great consequence." Although the King has only a small force left ("a ragged remnant" as Poyntz calls it), the Parliamentarians are all aware how resolutely King Charles was set on relieving Chester.

1645. September 29. Doddleston, near Chester.—Colonel-General Sednham Poyntz to the Committee for War at York.

We hear the King has got a small body together, Prince Maurice and Sir Jacob Astley joining with him with all the forces they could procure from Worcester, Hereford and Wales They are now about Denbigh and are moving this way with four fieldpieces intending to give us battle. I have written to London and to all our garrisons for assistance. One Nottingham regiment is returned and the rest with hard duty much discontented. We hear the Newarkers have orders to come this way. Therefore I earnestly desire you may give orders to the Yorkshire horse to attend their motion and to send your letters to Colonel Rossiter and Colonel Thornhagh to the same purpose for we hear the King hath vowed to raise this siege or lose England. He expects 5,000 rebels to come over to him from Ireland.

1645. September 29. From the Leaguer before Chester.—Sir George Boothe and other the Deputy Lieutenants to William Lenthall.

Since the House called up their members and committed the Militia to the Deputy Lieutenants, though we found the soldiers left in a mutinous condition for want of pay, and the country quite exhausted, yet it hath pleased God so to render our endeavours prosperous that the country and forces are now reduced to a cheerful and obedient condition ready and capable

of any proportionable design that can be presented them for the service of the Parliament. Nevertheless we are informed there are some factious petitions presented to you, bearing the character of the whole county, but indeed being the act but of a few, intimating a necessity of Sir William Brereton's return and so insinuating an odium and scandal upon us and our actions to the disturbance of the present condition we are in and the hazard of the great attempts now in agitation. Postscript.—Major-General Pointz' horse with Colonel Jones' 500 horse are passed over the river, and Colonel Booth and Colonel Duckenfield with such foot as we could spare, to expect the King's attempt on the Welsh side [Portland MSS., 279].

Of the prisoners sent to Nantwich, where they remained from Friday, September 26th to the Thursday following, about two hundred were sent to Middlewich and Northwich, the remainder being drafted into the Parliamentary garrison in the suburbs of Chester. A great brass piece and three great pieces of ordnance, siege guns newly arrived in Nantwich, were also brought into the suburbs to assist in the reduction of the city [*Civil War in Cheshire, p.* 185].

## CHAPTER VII.

### The First Summons. Rumours of Relief. The Blockade Tightens.

The diversion created by the King's move to Chester, and the battle on Rowton Moor, had this result that the pressure of the blockade on the Welsh side was relaxed for seven or eight days, giving an opportunity to Colonel Mostyn and Colonel Wynn to bring in their regiments, as well as some troops from Ireland. On the 26th September the city was summoned to surrender, and after its refusal, for several days the artillery were at work battering the Eastgate and the wall on that side. The besiegers commenced a mine, which was met by countermining. On September 29th a breach was made near Newgate, by which the besiegers the same night attempted unsuccessfully to force an entry, while another party brought up scaling ladders, some of which were dragged over and the assailants thrown down and killed. Very considerable damage was done to the walls on October 4th, the Royalists driven from their posts, and one of the largest cannons dismounted and its muzzle damaged. The breaches in the walls were, however, quickly repaired, and the walls lined with earth as a protection. On the 7th the Parliamentarians placed four pieces of ordnance near Morgan's Mount, and two others on the east side with a seventh on Brewer's Hall Hill, with which later they were able to cause great annoyance and mischief. This preparation was followed by a second summons to surrender, in which reference was made to a "scornful rejection of a former summons." Lord Byron and the Mayor (Mr. Charles Walley) in reply stated that "the former summons never came to their hands or knowledge," and asked "liberty of fourteen days to give the King for whom they held the city in trust, an account of

their demands," and requesting also a cessation of arms for that time.

1645. October 8.—General Poyntz to the Mayor.

Sir,—Although our condition be such that we need not court you, and notwithstanding your scornful rejection of a former summons, to clear our innocence before God and men of desiring the effusion of Christian blood, or the ruin of this ancient city, we once more demand the same with the castle and fort, for the use of the king and parliament, upon such conditions as may be honourable to both parties; which offer not embraced, and the acceptance thereof not signified to us within this hour, what misery shall ensue by fire and sword and spoil from enraged soldiers, let be charged upon your head; and let the world witness our unwillingness to use extremities, if you constrain not.

SYDENHAM POYNTZ.
MICH. JONES,
JAMES LOUTHIAN.

1645. October 8.—Reply.

Gentlemen,—Your letter of summons, intimating a former letter to the same purpose (which never came to either of our hands or knowledge) we have received, and must thereto return this answer; that we neither apprehend your condition to be so high, nor ours (God be thanked) to be so low, as to be threatened out of this city; and that we have received his Majesty's express command for the keeping thereof, and therefore cannot without his Majesty's knowledge break so great a trust laid upon us, and therefore must require liberty of fourteen days to give his Majesty an account of your demands, and to receive his further pleasure. To which purpose we shall appoint a gentleman and a citizen, for whom we shall expect to have a free passage forthwith to travel to his Majesty, to return to us without any let or interruption, and to have the conduct of a trumpeter of yours. At the expiration of which time we shall hearken to a treaty upon honourable conditions for the city, castle and fort, if his Majesty do not relieve us. In the meantime shall expect that a cessation of arms and working be presently upon honourable terms undertaken and observed on both sides. If you shall refuse this customary and soldier-like proceeding, we do then declare, in the names of the noblemen, gentlemen, citizens and soldiers within the garrison, that we defy the fury of your enraged soldiers, and doubt not with God's blessing to defend and maintain this city for his Majesty and ourselves, as it now is, against any assault that

shall be made, with as much resolution and courage as formerly, and remain,

JOHN BYRON,
CHARLES WALLEY, Mayor.

[Hemingway's *Chester* i, 179].

This request was refused, and the siege was continued with all possible vigour.

1645. October 9.—General Poyntz to the Mayor.

Gentlemen,—Yours we have received, but cannot condescend to any of your requests therein. If you will not treat upon any condition, you must expect what you defy, the fury of enraged soldiers. An answer to this our last intended you must return within half an hour at furthest.

SYDENHAM POYNTZ.
MICH. JONES,
JAMES LOUTHIAN.

1645. October 9.—Reply.

Your refusal of our reasonable offer we have received, which argues you intended not that you pretended, which was the sparing of the effusion of Christian blood; we are therefore ready to defend ourselves against the uttermost of your rage, not doubting God's blessing and protection upon us, resting your servants,

JOHN BYRON,
CHARLES WALLEY, Mayor.

During the parley, the citizens had been preparing as best they could for the threatened storm, lining the walls with earth, all helping far into the night, gentle and simple, without distinction of rank or sex.

On Thursday, October 9th, the besiegers' artillery opened a furious bombardment, which continued for two hours, and vigorous efforts were made a little before sunset to force an entrance by the breaches at several points, but the assailants were defeated with the loss of eighteen men killed and eighty wounded. Of the Royalists, Sir William Mainwaring and Captain Adlington fell with six or eight common soldiers.[38]

1645. October 10. From Chester suburbs.—George Booth and others to William Lenthall.

Upon Monday last we so straitly begirt the town on both sides the river that none can get forth or come in to them, of

[38] Letter of Sir John Gell (October 14th, Derby), to William Lenthall.

which Sir John Byron complained in two letters, the one to his brother, the other the Archbishop of York, intercepted by us that day. Yesterday we again attempted the City by storm. The most part of the day was spent in battery—after a parley of twenty-four hours held with them—we fell to the storm a little before sunset, which continued for the space of an hour and a half. The service was very hot, in which attempt we spent very much ammunition, for which the gentlemen of the County stand engaged. The service was performed by the expense of some blood, yet no considerable man lost. Amongst the wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Venables, a gallant man, received a wound in the arm, but not dangerous. The premises set out our necessity, and plead for a speedy supply of moneys, without which we cannot continue in this posture. The help of the adjacent counties in provision in a due way proportioned will be necessary, otherwise this overcharged county will be in danger to sink under the burden. Postscript.—Praising Col. Jones and Adjutant Louthian, and desiring that some notice be taken of them [Portland MSS., 288].

A marked feature in the conduct of the siege was the activity and courage of the women in helping on the defensive preparations at the hazard of their lives, for though the enemy had suspended active operations, desultory firing continued, causing several deaths. The besieged were cheerful, and according to one account had no scarcity of provision, while another complains "our men are very much spent with watching, having but a very little allowance of meate allowed them."

1645. October 17.—Roger Mostyn in Chester [Intercepted letter].

Here is more killed looking on than those that are on service. I am soe fearfull I goe noe whither out of dore and if any doe well I hope I shall doe well for none of us is in feare.

Hopes of speedy relief.

Defeat of Poyntz at Drayton by Sir W. Vaughan. Their quarters were beaten up at Eccleston upon Wensday last which took a great many men and officers beside.

1645. October 17. Chester.

Since last Thursday fortnight we have not had any allarum from the besiegers yet we keep very good and constant guard. Our men are very cheerful and so be the townesmen emulating one another who shall doe the best service. The towne is full of provision and wee that are strangers want nothing as long as

we have money. Here is as goode sixteene pence ordinary as ever was in tyme of peace. Our horse sallied out on Wednesday morning and beate up a quarter of ye Rebbles and took one horse, Collours and a trumpet and Carter's Lts and fower troope and about eight horses and some foote armes and has this day killed thirty upon the place. The besiegers have turned all the women and children whose husbands and friends beare arms in the citty from their quarters and they are received here. The rebbels have sett a bridge of boates over the river about a quarter mile above the bridge to secure their retreate.

HUGH WYNNE,
ED. WILLIAMS,
HEN. LLOYD,
ROB. WYNNE.

We heare Vaughan has given a great defeat to Poyntz in Shropshire.

1645. October 17.—John Price to his mother [intercepted].

Our men are very much spent with watching, having but a very little allowance of meate allowed them. The enemy have turned out of ye suburbs all ye inhabitants and left them nothing but clothes on their backes.

1645. October 17. Chester.—Peter Griffith to his unkle Tho: Whitley [intercepted from Chester].

On Wednesday last about 4 a.m. our horse marched out to beat the enemey's quarters at Eccleston where we had good success. Killed thirty or forty, took six prisoners and one of their colours whereof one Lt Maynwaring was taken prisoner.

As for Capt. Barneston some miscarriage was laid to his charge when the enemy entered the suburbs and he hath bin confined for it, but is since released and is at his former command. I do not heare of any but have carried themselves very loyall.

Early on Wednesday morning, October 15th, Captain Dutton and Captain Crosby made a successful sally on the enemy's quarters at Eccleston, capturing a good many prisoners. To prevent a recurrence of this, the besiegers formed a bridge of boats and cart bottoms "at the Lane ende beneathe Mr. Walleyes house," which throughout the siege was of great service, enabling them to cross the river for relief or retreat, as required. On October 24th, an attack was commenced upon Dee Mills and the next day upon the water tower on the bridge, two guns having been brought down from St. John's Churchyard to the Bowling Alley for

that purpose. The water pipes were cut through, and during the week considerable damage wrought, three of the mills being spoiled, and only two left standing [Malbon].

Brereton, who had now returned to his command, having intelligence of the landing of reinforcements from Ireland and the rallying of the Royalist forces at Denbigh under Sir William Vaughan, made hasty preparations for the dispatch of Jones and Louthian with 1,400 horse and 1,000 foot to stay their impending advance and prevent them uniting with the English forces under Sir Jacob Astley. The Royalists, though reported stronger in numbers, were actually weaker, being 1,700 horse and about 400 foot. On Thursday, October 30th, the Parliamentary forces reached Mold; the next day Ruthin, where they were joined by Col. Mytton. On Saturday, the hostile forces met in conflict. The fighting was for a long time indecisive, but ultimately the Royalists were defeated with about one hundred slain and four hundred taken prisoners, among whom were a number of officers and men of quality. The Parliamentary losses were slight. This was a terrible blow to the besieged in Chester. Help was almost beyond expectation, and the position of the city was becoming very serious.

1645. October 20. From the Leaguer.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Crew.

Good Cosen,

I cannot omitt this oppertunitie, in giveing you some account of the affaires in these partes, wherein the Enimie are makeing strong preparacons, and in great forwardnes to relieve Chester, which they are unwilling to Loose, knowing that all theire Intereste in these parts of England and Wales, depends upon the Success hereof: To prevent which we sent letters to all parts of the Neighbourhood, as Shropshire, Staffordshire and Lancashire, who according to our desires afforded us assistance: We sent also to s'vall Points who could not spare us any Aid: Upon serious Consultacon, it was resolved, to be more for our Advantage to draw off a considerable partie of our fforces, And to find out the Enimie, and give him Battle rather than suffer them to Come and assault us in our Quarters and fight with us soe neare the Citty, they being judged to bee at least fifteen or sixteen hundred ffoote, which might be an Assistant unto them and a great Annoyance unto us: To this

end we have sent into Wales, under the Comand of Coll : Jones, Adjut. Louthian and Coll. Mitton, about twelve hundred Horse and twelve hundred foote, to find out the Enimie, which Partie I believe by this time are at that distance as to bee out of danger of beeing distrubed by them in the Citty whilst they are fighting with the Enimie : As well remembering when God delivered the Irish Army into our hands at Nampwich, Souldiers falling upon the Enimie Reare whilst we were fighting with them put an end to that Hot and till then doubtful dispute. The souldiers now left in the Leaguer are put upon heavy duty : though I hope God will enable us to maintainn that hee hath given us. The Enimie is full of ffury and Courage, and delight in and practise nothing more then Ruin and destruction, as shooteing ffiery Arrowes of ffire and Consume what remains unburnt of the Subburs, which they have this day attempted, and which was by an Extriordinary providence preserved by the suddaine turning of the Wind.

Wee have great Want here, of provision, Money and Amunicon. I have written concerning it, both to the Speaker of the House of Comons and Committee of both Kingdoms : I shall desire you and the rest of our ffriends will solicite for a supply : I have noe more at this time wherewith to trouble you : only desire my best respects may be present to my Cosen yor wife, Cosen Done and the rest of my ffriends : Conclude Remaining

Your very ffaithful ffrend and Cosen

WILL : BRERETON.

My service to my Lord. Impart this to
or ffreuds from the Leaguer.

8ber : 20th, 1645.

Mr. Crew.

[This letter, although signed by Sir William Brereton, is not in his handwriting, but he has added the following postscript].

Mr. Ashurst can Impart some Latter Newes [*Cheshire Sheaf,* Vol x., p. 84].

1645. October 25. Dodleston.—Col. Mich. Jones

By all the intelligence it is evident the enemy will be a very greate bodye, therefore some letters should bee written to Poyntz to hasten hither—to Lancashire, Shropshire and Coll. Mitton to send us all the forces they possible cann—Duckenfield and all the Werral forces of Cheshire—Staffordshire may afford some force—the whole kingdom depends upon this bout. I would have the mount at Northgate Turnpike closed for all must bee quitt but that as few places in Eastgate streete must be kept as may bee—there must noe more bee left at Beeston then is requisite. Namptwich may lend two companyes.

Letters must be written to all the parts of Cheshire for the sending in great fforce of provisions. A mound should be made on that syde for the defence of the Bridge—the mount at Boughton turnpike should be strengthened and cutt off from the line and lett oxen be ready to draw the peeces to Tarvin when there shall bee occasion—March night and day. Northgate Turnpike must be cutt from the line.

1645. October 27. Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton and Roger Wilbraham to Col. Jones and Louthian.

Cannot promise assistance though have written for troops. Can you delay engaging the enemy until assistance comes.

1645. October 27, 2 a.m., Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Louthian.

Enemy on march. Have all the foot you can to join with me. It may be we shall fight this day.

1645. October 27, 5 o'clock.—Louthian to Sir William Brereton.

Asks him to send to Northwich such foot as are upon their march towards us; march all night that they may be with us to-morrow morning. I am to march to Col. Jones to-night at twelve with what foote I can spare from these parts. Tarvin to be kept.

1645. October 28. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir William Brereton.

Best not to draw off any Beeston forces. Have given directions to have a trench cast about each guard there. Have payed each guard 3li—sent twelve leane cattle to help them at Beeston.

There will be this day 1,000 Horse and Foote whereby those at Beeston will bee secured when more forces come up and things ordered at Chester, three parts of the Horse shall march towards Mould and the fourth parte shall remain at Wrexham until there be occasion. So if the enemie intend to relieve Beeston they must march by Chirk [Add. MSS. 11,332].

1645. October 29. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir William Brereton.

Send up what forces you can that we may chase the enemy out of Wales.

Were there 500 men with spades, shovels and mattocks I am confident in four days to cast such a trench and workes on this side Chester from water to water that if the enemy were master of the field he should not relieve the city. I heare the foot on the other side grow unruly.

1645. November 2. 11 p.m. Suburbs Chester.—Sir William Brereton to W. Lenthall.

That party of horse and foot sent into Wales have routed the enemy, taken 500 or 600 horse and 300 or 400 prisoners and slain

a hundred in pursuit, which was most eagerly followed seven or eight miles by the Warwick and Derby Horse, who behaved themselves very gallantly. This victory [Nov. 1st] was obtained near Denbigh, where our forlorn hope consisting of about 500 or 600 horse commanded by Captain Otter, a very brave and valiant man, was only engaged, the enemy having made choice of such a place of advantage that the body of our army could not come up to fight [Portland MSS., 301].

Brereton continually complains that for the work in hand, which is very arduous, he is hampered seriously by the great scarcity of provisions, and an insufficient force of men. This want of food, "one of the sinews of war," and still more the want of money, gave rise to much discontent, and occasioned more than once serious mutinies and disorderly behaviour amongst the troops,[39] to check which he called for Martial Law in Cheshire and Shropshire.

1645. October 21. Coventrie.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.

Urges that Mr. Lisle be spoken to concerning the ordinance for executing Martial Law for Cheshire and Shropshire, otherwise wee cannot restraine the souldiers from mutinous and unlawful actions, especially in Wales, where they are most apt to plunder.

1645. October 26. Tarvin.—To Sequestrators of Northwich Hundred.

Great need of provisions within twenty-four hours. Send in all the bread, cheese, and other provisions you can and bake more bread. If not we shall not only lose the advantage gained, but disband the men and let the enemy at libertie to prey on you.

1645. October 27. 12 at night. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Louthian.

Hasten hither the Shropshire horse, send to Col. Mitton to come unto Dodleston or Wrexam. I have now out towards Reabone [Ruabon] 100 Horse for the gaining of Intelligence. Mutiny not very violent but soon appeased.

1645. October 28. 4 a.m. Chester.—Louthian to Sir William Brereton.

The trained bands and others were yesterday in a mutiny for their pay. I desire they may bee satisfied and all relief hastened.

[39] All the trained and Freehold bands rise in a mutinie, shut ye Barr gates, came into ye headquarters, called for ye Gentlemen and Committees, using many unbeseeming speeches against them. Their carriadge very high and insolent.

1645. October 29. Tarvin.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Roger Wilbraham and other gentlemen of Nantwich Hundred.

Att my coming to the Leaguer I had no sooner dismounted at Tarvin but I was mett with complaints from Jones and Louthian of a very hot meeting amongst the souldiers for want of pay alledging the arrears of very neare two months' pay. It possessed the Commanders with great jealousies of a strong distraction, yet it was for the present appeased. Upon a further looking into the occasion, it appeared to bee want of the bringing in the weekly pay agreed upon. The framing of the best modell for the obtaining whereof there were undertakers in the several hundreds. I pray you use your best endeavours in the Nantwich hundred for the bringing in of the arrears.

Great complaint in the army for want of provision, whereof bread especially.

1645. October 29. 4 a.m. Dodleston.—Col. Jones to Sir William Brereton.

Col. Mitton's men come, but by reason of long march not able to goe along with us to-day, and therefore I resolve not to stir this day. Cattle and other provisions are to be orderly disposed. Bread must be sent thence for the Army. If you will send over Thrashers, you may have corne enough. Were there good store of Pioneers but for two dayes, I would cast up a worke that would hinder the relief of the citty. Direct that the sack cloth in store at Tarvin be made into sacks and sent hither for the conveying of corne into Chester to make bread for the soldiers.

1645. October 30. From the Leaguer at Chester.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.

Siege is very close.

On my coming here, I found a very great want of Comission for executing martiall law, without which the souldiers will not be kept in order. Instances—A trooper lately belonging to Capt. Bulkeley went forth to scout, and most treacherously betrayed three of his fellowsouldiers into the hands of the enemie, rebelled and hath borne armes against the Parliament and is now taken and is a prisoner. The enemie in Chester lately took one of our souldiers and executed him, whereupon our Commanders to terrify them from doing the like executed two Irish men of the Plunketts (two brothers). But wee shall be very cautious how we doe the like. Besides making some of our souldiers examples to prevent mutinies and plundering in Wales whereof you may heare very loud complaints which are not in our power to restraine.

Wherefore earnestly desire that the ordinance for martial law in Counties of Chester and Salop may be passed and sent downe with all convenient speede. Enemy at Ruthin. Sir W. Vaughan in command.

1645. October 30. From the Leaguer at Chester.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst.

Frequent intelligence of advance of enemy to relieve Chester —sent for help in various directions and after Gen[l] Poyntz.

I went to Chester and soe over the water to Dodleston, where we resolved speedily to collect all our forces into a body and to follow the enemy, which was delayed one day longer in expectation of Col. Mitton's forces coming up who were not then far from us.

On Munday the Cheshire foote in high mutinie, but on my coming to them next morning they were appeased.

In a letter from the suburbs, October 31st, he refers to "the very hard duty" his men have to perform, "maintaining the advantages God hath given, notwithstanding the fury and courage of the enemy who practise nothing but waies of ruin and destruction. They shott yesterday fiery arrowes which kindled in parte of the suburbes remaining unburnt, in ye extinguishing whereof God appeared in his providence, the wind at first takeing stood to drive the fire along the building, turned imediately and preserved the streete" [Add. MSS. 11,332]. Brereton is again criticized as he was at an earlier stage of the siege, for not protecting his leaguer by entrenchments.[40] He rejoins that he is "endeavouring to draw a line from water to water on the Welsh side" but is somewhat hindered by a Royal mount of great strength made earlier in the siege by the Royalists, and by the extreme foul weather. Some trenches have been made, but sufficient miners are not obtainable to complete the work. "The city is closely blockaded on the Cheshire side, there being posts at Pulford, Bretton, Dodleston, Eccleston and Brewers Hall. The guards are kept close up to the walls, and we have cast and

[40] For example the Committee of Salop write, December 28th, 1645, wondering why Brereton does not make trenches on the Welsh side, where the guards are weak. Besides making them safe, it would keep the soldiers from idleness.

made such defences and breastworks against their gates and sally ports as that there is no great danger of their issuing out to annoy and offend us in our quarters" (November 8th).

1645. October 26th. 9 a.m. Tarvin. From Jonathan Bruen, Ro. Gregge and Tho. Partington to Sir William Brereton.

Provisions difficult. Since the leaguer, been forced to take so much round about us at divers times when present necessity required that little or none is left upon the sequestered lands or in this garrison, therefore we desire you to command what supply is possible from Namptwich, etc. Have sent for manye pyoneers to bee at Chester tomorrow earlye.

1645. October 26. Nantwich.—Sir William Brereton and others to Committees of Gloucester, etc.

The work before Chester and Beeston now in great forwardness—one or both will shortly be reduced if not relieved—send what help you can and speedily.

1645. October 28. Tarvin.—Sir William Brereton.

Order to the Hundreds of Northwich, Macclesfield and Bucklow for 100 men to be at Chester on Friday next by ten, and to bring with them a spade, mattock or shovel and six days' provision.

Order received on Sabbath day at noone and we sent them forth upon Monday morning very early [Add. MSS., 11,332].

1645. November 8. From my quarters in the suburbs of Chester.—Sir William Brereton and Robert Dukenfield to William Lenthall.

In my last [Nov. 2nd] I advertized you of that victory at Denbigh, November the 1st, when the enemies' whole body was routed and dispersed and at least 600 horse taken and brought away, but not altogether soe many prisoners. But soe many thereof as was brought into the countie I have herein enclosed sent a list of theire names, the addicion of which number to those wee had before, doth much add to our trouble and charge, haveing not only soe many as all our prisons and garrisons are capable of, but wee are forced to disperse them into severall townes and parishes in open quarters at Stockport, Gropnall, Middlewich, Northwich, and Congleton, where wee are constrained to command the countrey to guard and secure them, of which trouble and charge it is humbly desired this countrey may be eased soe soone as conveniently may bee.

We are still endeavouring to draw a line from water to water on the Welsh side, wherein were it not that wee have received some interruption by a royall mount of the enemies, lately made before wee tooke the suburbes, and also by the extreame

fowle weather—which is so violent that our men cannot endure out of doores—it might have beene in much more forwardnes than now it is. Howsoever noe dilligence nor endeavours shall be ommitted that may conduce to the advance of this service, touching which I know not what more to add Since wee cast upp one mount at our bridg to secure it and another mount higher to confront theire royall mount they can receive noe releefe at all, beeing our men are quartered at Poulford, Bretton, Doddleston, Eccleston and Brewers Hall, which doth soe blocke upp that side that noe releife at all is brought or attempted to bee brought into the citty, which on the Cheshire side is sufficiently begirte, for wee keepe our guards close to theire walls, and have cast upp and made such defences and breste workes against theire gates and sally-ports as that there is noe great daunger of theire issueing out to annoy and offend us in our quarters, wherein provision of victualls begin to bee much wanteing, this countrey beeing wholly exhausted and Lancashire and Darbyshire affording noe manner of assistance for provisions. And Wales which is most plentifull stored and lyes most convenient contributes very spareingly, wherein the people remaine soe disaffected as that they rather preferr to bury and destroy or to carry away then that our men should partake thereof or our leaguer receive any benefitt thereby.

The only expedient that I can propose for the prevencion of what mischiefe may ensue hereupon is :—that either collonel may bee ordered to lye about Ruthin or Denbigh, who may send in provision of beeves, muttons and corne, out of that plentifull countrey to our leaguer here at Chester : or that there may bee a considerable partie sent of hence that may have authority to quarter thereabouts, and send in provision for the supply of our army here. . . Postscript.—I received this enclosed letter last night from Helbree, being a copy of Mr. Dalber his letter, touching the taking of Captain Bartlett's ship, which as I am informed is a ship of strength, and carries 20 pieces of ordinance with a little pinnance besides [Portland MSS., 305].

Whilst this anxious work is proceeding, an assembly is held, October 21st, with the undaunted Mayor, Charles Walley, in the chair, at which orders are passed for the collection of arrears of wages for the soldiers, and for a fresh assessment of £200 for the maintenance of the garrison. A fortnight later, this amount having been spent, a further like sum of £200 is ordered to be levied, November 6th, and yet a third on November 17th [A.O. 651, 652, 654]. To

alleviate the distress of the poorer citizens the Mayor is allowed discretion to augment the charge upon the richer inhabitants [A.O. 655].

We may be sure that these stout hearts quailed somewhat at the news of the surrender of Beeston Castle on November 16, 1645. The siege of Beeston Castle had kept engaged a considerable number of the Parliamentary forces; though it was not otherwise of such importance for their safety as was Hawarden Castle, as keeping open the Welsh quarter from which they could hope for a supply of provisions and ultimate relief.

1645. November 16. Nantwich. Sir William Brereton to the Speaker.

Worthy Sir,

I cannot but apprehend it my duty to let you know the goodness of God in restoring to us the strong Castle of Beeston to-day, which was lost about this time two years, and besieged by us about this day 12 months, since which time they have had no liberty, but what was obtained first by Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, their army in March last, which raised us from that siege, which being after their return made good, we were again disturbed, the second time by the King's Army, who came within ten miles of Namptwich, as he marched towards Leicester. We found in the Castle about eighty arms, some little ammunition, but less provision. The Governor Captain Wallet, with about fifty of his soldiers, was permitted to march away on foote, with their arms, to Flint, and so to Denbigh and Bewmoris, there remaining about forty, who laid down their arms and submitted themselves, desiring liberty to live at home. The prize therein found being of very small value (but so much as it was), it is with equality to be distributed amongst the soldiers who have performed a very tedious siege.

A great part of that which they had exacted from ye Country was bestowed upon the reparation and furnishing of ye Castle. It is reported to be one of the strongest pieces in these parts of the Kingdom. We found their horses in a weak and languishing condition (the Governor's own horse being scarce able to go out of ye Castle). We were very exact in performing and making good the conditions agreed upon, which we hope may produce a good effect upon Chester, which is now so straightened on the Welsh side as no manner of provision can be brought unto them, touching which we hope to give a better

account ere long. The day before the Castle was yielded great preparation was made and many carriages in readiness at Holt to relieve same. It is humbly desired that ye money and ammunition may be speeded down and that there may be a supply of provisions more large and constant for the Leaguer before Chester, from the neighbour counties and especially from Wales, whereby we shall be better enabled to carry on the worke, wherein none shall serve you more faithfully than your humble servant.

WILLIAM BRERETON.

Shropshire and Staffordshire have sent in some provisions already [*Lords' Journals, vii.* 719; Portland MSS., 312].

Brereton took occasion of this success to send in, two days afterwards, a summons to Lord Byron, the Governor, and Mr. Charles Walley, the Mayor of Chester, demanding the "speedy surrender of the City, Castle and fort, for the use of the King and Parliament."

"The trumpeter sent with this" (Brereton reports to the Speaker) "was not admitted into the city."

1645. November 18. Chester Suburbs.

We have this day sent in a summons into the city, a copy of which is here inclosed.

The trumpeter herewith sent was not admitted into the city, but was stayed in their Royall Porte until such time as ye messenger returned, that went to make them acquainted that there was a sumons sent, who brought the answer that it was their desire the sumons might be sent in and promised speedily to returne an answer by a Trumpeter of their own.

But noe answer was sent that day, nor was any cessation admitted by them. Notwithstanding our souldiers did forbear shooteing, and did begin to discourse and debate familiarly and friendly until such time as some of their officers came up and did rebuke them upon the walls and they did endeavour to suppress the summons and conceal the same from the souldiers and common people who would not believe that any faire quarter was intended, their officers having often infused into them that wee were resolved to give noe quarter, which made them more desperate.

The reply sent on the following day by "Lord Byron and Charles Walley, the Mayor, for himself and brethren," was as follows:—

When we call to mind those antient and honourable privileges and immunities granted heretofore to the citizens and freemen

of Chester for their loyalty to the Crown, we cannot but wonder at your impertinency in urging that as an argument to withdraw us from our allegiance whereof (if all other respects were forgotten) we are most obliged unto it, even in point of gratitude as well as conscience. The care you profess to preserve the City, and to avoid the effusion of blood is so much contradicted by your acts that you must excuse us, if we give credit rather to your deeds. As for the fire and sword and famine you threaten us with, upon refusal of your unjust demands, we must tell you that, blessed be God, we have less cause to fear them now than when you first sat down before this City, and doubt not of the continuance of Divine Protection in the defence of this just cause, wherein our libertyes, religion and allegiance to our Sovereign—whose service is unseparable from that of the kingdom—are so deeply engaged. This is all the answer we think fit to return you for the past, and so rest your servants.

JOHN BYRON.
CHARLES WALLEY.

To this Sir William Brereton replied :—

1645. November 19. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton's reply to the last.

Your rebellion and obstinacy is not the way to preserve the antient privileges granted unto that city. I know not what action of ours contradict our willingness to save the effusion of blood and preservation of that city, but it matters not what those people who are given over to destruction and make lies their refuge write or pretend. By the tender of honourable conditions I have discharged my duty and conscience. Your blood be upon your owne head and not on your servant.

WILL : BRERETON.

For the Mayor and his brethren and the pretended Lord Byron.

He reports the failure of his negotiations to the Speaker, William Lenthall, enclosing a copy of his summons to the besieged, and their reply, and suggests that this refusal was either because they were expecting relief or suspected the weakness of the Parliamentarians, or else trusted in the strength of the city.

1645. November 20. Chester suburbs. At my quarters in the Mayor's house.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

In my last I gave you intimation of the summons, and a copy thereof. Noe answer being returned, uppon Wednesday,

Nov. 19, 1645, there was a drummer sent into the towne with this second also wherewith he was not admitted, but Sir Richard Grosvenor came downe and tooke his summons and returned answer that they had sent an answer by a Trumpet of their owne who was not then come to us. The answer is come whereof this inclosed is likewise a copy.

You may thereby guess that they either expect relief or suspect our weakness—unless stupid ignorance or stubborn infidelity possess them—or else trust in the strength of the city. Our siege is close, our soldiers resolved, our want is provision, one of the sinews of war, yet not so great, but it will endure a seasonable supply.

I humbly recommend that the counties formerly allotted to contribute for our relief of victual may again be put in mind of former orders. The Counties of Stafford and Salop have contributed, from Derby and Lancashire as yet nothing, and very little from North Wales, from which we might expect a large supply, maintaining no soldiers but what horse are quartered amongst them.

Copy of 2nd summons :

Gentlemen, Yesterday I sent you a summons by my Trumpett for the surrender of that citty Castle and Fort and to which noe answer is returned. I doe expect it by this drumme and rest. From the Leaguer before Chester, 9ber 19, 1645.

This parley was followed on November 21st by a sally of the Royalist horse. Another attack Brereton describes as "the most adventurous and gallant that they ever made." This was at midnight on Tuesday, November 25th, when a force of eighty or more horse and a strong contingent of foot soldiers sallied over the Dee Bridge and fell upon the guard on the Welsh side of the river, while at the same time two boats with powder and combustible materials were sent up the river with the strong high tide against the bridge of boats which they wished to destroy. This attempt failed because the tide was slower than was expected and too far spent for the purpose.

1645. November 26.—To Sir William Brereton.

Yesternight the enemy had a design to have burnt our bridge over Dee, at the same time to have fallen upon our guards both of horse and foot beyond the water, and we verily believe, when we had been in that distraction to have sallied out upon all our quarters. . . They about twelve of the clock in the night issued out on the other side with a party of about eighty horse or more,

and a considerable party of foot, forced in our sentinels to the high mount, and came and charged our men within less than carbine shot of the mount, which our men maintained gallantly and our horse guard kept their ground, our foot gave them good store of shot, and after some of the enemy were fallen and others shot, they caused them to retreat before their relief came up to them, beat them into their mount. All this being in doing, at the same time two boats came up the river with the tide, filled with gorse, tallow, pitch, powder, and other combustible matter, and underneath them, and upon the sides of the boat in a frame of wood about twenty pieces of carbine barrels scarce full length and others pocket pistol length charged with powder and carbine bullets. The one of these came within six yards of the bridge and there fired, which gave a report like a peal of muskets so that we upon the higher ground did verily believe they had been a company of musketeers. A soldier stept in, cast off the gorse and took the frame and brought [it] up with some six or seven of the pieces not discharged. The other boat gave fire over against my Lord of Darby's bowling alley and fired all the gorse and boat itself. We have found one of their men slain within forty yards of our mount, and believe more are slain and wounded. We have found four or five of their hand grenadoes [Portland MSS., 317].

The frequent rumours of the advance of a relieving force which so harassed the besieging force were on the contrary most encouraging to the troops within the city, and most nights, at the parade, letters of good news about the King's successes elsewhere were read to hearten the beleaguered citizens. The close watch which was maintained on river and road was repeatedly eluded, and large quantities of provisions were brought in from time to time. A letter of private intelligence from some disaffected person within the city indicates that the weak place in the blockade was by Poulton Green, Eaton Boat and Dodleston.

Col. Carter writes from Dodleston, December 25th, that the enemy had

attempted to drive in some cattle to Chester, encouraged by a flying report that we were all marched from this side into Cheshire to fight. They marched with 100 head of cattle almost to Holliwell, but there, hearing in what posture we were, made a stand. I sent out a party, but they dispersed over the mountains.

1645. November 2.—Ro. Venables and John Whitworthe to Sir William Brereton.

This night there is a sergeant, a drum and a musket [musketeer] seene come over the walls to us, their pretence they made (for they were let downe by a Rope) was to seeke for some pewter, brasse and other things yt were hid which the gunner that let them downe was to have a share of. They confirme three mylns spoiled and the waterpipe—noe scarcitie of victuals yet, but a many of the Welsh who begg their meate all they have and are almost famished, and both souldiers and cittizens in daylye discontent, but most nightes at the parade, letter of good newes are reade and that Sir Tho. Fairfax is routed, Poyntz routed, Morrice and Vaughan with 1,000 in Wales.

They doe believe in a weeke or a fortnight at most they will bee togeither by the eares for want of victualls.

1645. December 21.—Sir William Neale to Lord Byron.

That Capt. Dutton got into Chester safe with the money and ammunition, and the enemy had left Chester and gone over the Bridge. Asks for forces [Brogyntyn MSS.].

1645. January 7. 4 p.m. Col. Jones to Col. Carter.

Last night eleven men came from Chester to Holt and are to return to-night. One Starre is come from Chirk thither this morning with a great packet which is going into Chester this night. Pooter [Poulton] Green and Wayrookes Bridge are ye places to be watched.

All this tyme your centeries must be doubled one behind another else some of them will pass our single watches. The forces about Denbigh have some sudden design in hand. They have their scouts as far as Yale and take up Horses in ye country and keep them together and my intelligence thinks they will fite this night on this side Ruthin. If they came so near they will attempt another reliefe or storming.

Intelligence enclosed in Col. Jones' letter.

I am sorry to see so many as I do pass to Chester and back again, but I hope this my letter will make you more careful. There comes every day in the week four men and carry provisions in of ye best as pigges, Turkyes and other things for ye great men which makes them to stand out so. Some times there comes six or seven men and some of them carrie pike staves on their shoulders. The way they go is through the Wayrookes and Pooton and along the water to Eaton boate. Some tymes they goe through the fields between Panton Greene and Poulford and soe by the Gorstoloe [Gorstella] behind Doddeston. Set a stronge guard on Panton Greene and one by the waterside by

Poulton Hall neere Eaton Boate and one at yᵉ Gorstilow in yᵉ fields, but especially let there be a private guard of foote in yᵉ Werhueks near the bridge under some hedge and you may be sure to take these wicked men who doe a great deal of hurt. Their tymes of going from yᵉ Holt is two or three houres within yᵉ night and when they come back from Chester is about three or four of yᵉ clock in yᵉ morning.

Have a strong companie on this side the water for there is provision providing for relief of Chester within this four or five dayes. The Lord S. Paule, General of yᵉ horse in Chester, is moe out to hasten yᵉ relief. Sir Rᵈ Lloyd reports there wilbe reliefe at Holt within this five or six days. Have a special care of the sands that goes over the water betwixt Flint and Hawarden, for as I heare they will venture over and relieve Chester in at the Water Gate.

Have a careful regard of Panton Greene and see they make no private way for horse to march that way. Sir Richard Lloyd sent for hay to Aldford and Barton and for fouerty loade to Escoyde if you can prevent him—he saith forces will come to Holt. Have an eye to High Arcolde, Chirke, and the mountaines, for take my words there are forces in private drawing nye.

1645-6. January.—Letter from a Prisoner in Chester.

Greate scarcity here that yᵉ souldiers mutiny. Noe forage for horse. They intend to break out and begone, which they brag they can at any time do. Our soldiers upbraiding theirs do much harm—folly—stirring up their pride to resist for spite agᵗ their revilers.

They much jeer at your carelessness, saying they can fetch provision at will and march away.

But notwithstanding this weekly addition to their store, the provision of food for the great multitude cooped up within the walls (3,000 fighting men besides the ordinary inhabitants and the large number of non-combatants who had taken refuge in Chester) was becoming rapidly exhausted. Lord Byron, among other measures taken to deal with the scarcity, orders (November 19th) that any horses in the garrison unfit for duty be turned into the Roodee, where they would be able to live until the relief of the city.

1645. November 19. Chester.—Lord Byron to Randle Holme, alderman, and Wm. Williams, Muster Master.

For that it is evident that there are verie manie horses in this Garrison soe weake and poore that they are unable and

unfit for dutie or other service and yet notwithstanding live upon and consume the provisions thereof—ordered to make search and seize and cause them to be turned into the Roodee where they will be able to live till the Cittie shall be relieved, and prevent the unnecessarie destruction of the provisions.

Brereton was, not unreasonably, surprised at the "obstinacy" of the besieged.

1645. November 28. Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall. The besieged in Chester remain still very obstinate, and do not seem inclinable to embrace any overtures made for their own preservation. They have not made many sallies on Cheshire side the water. But the most adventurous and gallant attempt that they ever made was upon Tuesday last. We cannot imagine upon what confidence they are induced to persevere in this stubborness, unless it be so that Sir Francis Gamull and Sir Richard Grosvenor . . . do enslave and inaw them hereunto, for, if it be true which I have heard, Sir Francis hath wounded one or two with his own hands that were suspected to desire the delivery up of the city out of which we have heard very little. . . They are very curious and scrupulous to admit our trumpets, or our drums into the city, wherein it seems those that command do most cruelly tyrannize over the poor inhabitants, as they dare not attempt anything. . . . They are the rather encouraged by the Commanding Castle and by the Royal Mount which they have lately made which commands much on the Welsh side, and is very strong and almost impregnable [Add. MSS. 11,332].

And a few days later, December 3rd, writing to this same correspondent, he pays unwilling honour to their "obstinate resistance" which he can only hope to overcome by starvation. "The increase of the enemy's wants is the greatest ground of our hopes, they beginning now to be more pinched than formerly, and therefore are less active. However, they have not as yet admitted of our parley."

Information reaches him that though "The better sort eat beef and bacon," there is a want of butter and cheese; no more malt to brew; the poor in very great want and many that have lived well formerly go a-begging, "the poorer sort of the city that are not of the soldiers are ready to starve, they are compelled to eat horseflesh." Another account states that "the Welsh soldiers are almost

famished." Brereton, in asking for help (Dec. 11th) from the Lancashire Committee " against the probable advance of the King's forces to relieve Chester " states that " they within the city are in a distressed condition, some of them having of late fallen dead in y^e^ streets for want, and others extremely pinched with hunger and all of them very miserable."

There was, as might be expected, a great deal of discontent, and some suspicion that the wealthier inhabitants were able to fare better than the poor people and the soldiers. Many were willing that the city should be delivered up, and the long and stubborn resistance was attributed to the resolute attitude of the Mayor, Sir Francis Gamull and Sir Richard Grosvenor, who were said to " enslave and inaw those who desired to surrender."

1645. December 9. Salop.—Intelligence from Shrewsbury to Sir William Brereton.

The woman you sent to Worcester overheard a discourse between Sir W. Vaughan and another soldier at Bridgnorth on Saturday last y^t^ hee was to pass over at Holt Bridge and to take some advantage against Tarvin which he heard was neglected and very slenderly manned and y^t^ while he gave you a disturbance with the help of Holt men, on y^e^ English side the enemy out of the city was to issue upon y^r^ forces both wayes.

We cannot learn that with Sir W. Vaughan above 1,000, which lye quartered between Bridgenorth and Bewdley.

We have put some foot in two Churches near Escall and our horse quarter on y^t^ syde the county.

Later intelligence—this force dispersed.

1645. December 11. Maior's House (Suburbs).

Sir William Brereton writes to Earl of Leven for assistance of 1,000 horse. News of orders for relief from Wales under Gerrard and Vaughan—this encourages besieged but the people is pinched—some have died for want of food, they have made use of horseflesh.

1645. December 16.—Statement of Marke Goodman, Gent. of City of London, servant to Sir Charles Gerrard, now Lord Brandon.

This morning about five he went with a party (100 horse compleat) to see how the Parl^t^ guards lay towards Lache, which was about a mile from their new mount. He was centinell but escaped according to promise.

For the present provision there is a scarcity of provision in the city though there be yet about fifty live cattle. The better sort eat beef and bacon, but have not provision of butter and cheese and those that are provided eat but one meale a day and the poorer sort of the city which are not of the soldiers are ready to starve, the soldiers Irish and Welch have iij$^{d}$ a day which they bestow in bread and beere to boile it in and that is their dyet, the souldiers inhabitants maintaine themselves and the number in the whole 3,000 fighting men.

Their greatest want is of butter, cheese and fresh meat, their plenty of corne and beere which is now much exhausted and no more malt to brew, so as he conceives for that and want of fuell they cannot hold out a moneth with the best husbanding they can. Their ammunition he conceives to be about forty barrels of powder the greatest want of materials for making more is brimstone, having received none of late only this Vaughan at the last Denbeigh fight sent some into Hawarden which was intended for Chester, but came not any further.

The morter peeces have done much execucon in breaking and reating houses and slaying some persons, and the same are the greatest terror to them and expect them nightly, at two of the clocke and when the first goes off the women and children in generall betake themselves to cellars the men to the walls.

They expect relief from Goring, Gerrard and Vaughan and out of Ireland. The tyme appointed was this day now put off till to-morrow sevenight. Their intent is to sally forth desperately when they have a signal either of a messenger or relief which signal was to be given by fires made either at Denbigh or Holt Castle. If no relief come in a fortnight they would deliver the town and most of the towne desire it may be rendered up rather than be put upon eating of horseflesh.

1645. December 17.

Giles Hurst, a maltster, a foot-soldier of Captain Whitmore under Col. Gamull, came over the walls, reports great scarcity. Poor in very great want and many that have lived well formerly go a begginge—little bread or bear left—Beefe is scarce yet on last Saturday beef was sold in market at 4d. the pound. The Welsh soldiers almost famished. Not above twenty cattle in City. They are expecting relief and they will shortly make a sudden sally out through the Eastgate and Northgate and their sally port under the Sadler's Tower. 3,000 fighting men in City, one half Welsh, about fifty horse. The poor people and soldiers willing the city should be delivered up.

John Fletcher, a soldier of Col. Gamull's company, reports same as Hurst. Soldiers discontented and twice mutinied of late.

The distress from want of food was aggravated by the incessant bombardment to which the inhabitants were subjected. During the month of October they had seen widespread damage done, and on some days it was not safe to walk in the principal streets. The mills were seriously injured, and the Water Tower was tottering. But as the siege progressed, the firing became more destructive. " By this time they have unmuzzled death," is the annalist's graphic description of the attack on November 10th and 11th, "and sweare they'll let him loose amongst us, grinding their dwellings into dust and ashes." Besides several other victims during this month, Lieutenant Morgell is slain upon his guard near the Newgate, November 6th, and the day following, the Sheriff, Ralph Richardson, was shot dead by a bullet out of St. John's Church steeple, " at ye bottom of Chickley the brewer's orchard."

Another "terrible night " was December 10th, when Eastgate and Watergate Streets, which had so often suffered from the grenadoes, were attacked and many houses, including the Talbot, shattered and set on fire, women and children struck and buried under the ruins. This death-dealing shower continued for five more days and nights. Despite these distressing experiences, the citizens were able to spend Wednesday, November 5th (Gunpowder Plot day), in prayer and thanksgiving, and at night make their annual bonfires under the enemy's cannonade; to hold their Council meetings in the usual hall for the dispatch of city business, levying further assessments for the maintenance of the garrison; ordering the committal of all who are recalcitrant to the Council's authority until they conform themselves; and, in consideration of the great neglect of appearance at the Assembly, even directing fines to be exacted for any such neglect in future, the fines to be converted to the use of the garrison.

The last assessment of £200, for the maintenance and use of Colonel Mostyn and Colonel Wynn's regiments, was made on December 18, 1645, when it was also agreed that " the Welsh souldiers shalbe hereafter duly payd, as they appeare

att the Parade, the sick and wounded only excepted." These entries are followed by a blank page, the City having surrendered February 3, 1646, and the next entry being a copy of the Order of Parliament removing from office the Mayor and his brethren, who, in their heroic and stubborn defence of the city had " bin violent opposers of the Parliament and their proceedings." Brereton was so concerned at the disappointing delay in reducing Chester, and withal so disturbed at the prospect of his prey being at the last snatched from him, that he issued an order for a public day of humiliation and prayer to be observed on Tuesday, December 23rd, throughout Cheshire.

16 December, 1645.

Whereas there is great occasions of high concernement to this Countye and alsoe to the Kingdom which call for solemful and earnest seeking of God by fasting and prayer as :

1st. In behalf of our Army now before Chester being the greate designe of the kingdome that God would be pleased to take away what sin may lye in the way and hinder the work and in his own good tyme deliver the city into our hands :

2nd. That those enemyes which are preparing and marching with what force they can to raise this siege that God would either turne them back or break them to pieces.

Tuesday 23 of December appointed for humiliacon and prayer and intreat all ministers of this County to give notice thereof the next Lord's day and presse the people to assemble and prepare themselves for such a service.—Signed by William Brereton, George Booth, etc. etc.

Rumours were again renewed of a strong force on the march to relieve the city. Though the apprehension of interruption from Wales was lessened by news of the victory won November 1st near Denbigh by the Warwick and Derby horse, Brereton and the Committee of both Kingdoms received frequent intelligence of a Royalist army advancing to raise the siege of Chester.

Now it was a strong body from Wales under Gerrard and Sir William Vaughan which threatened,—another from Worcestershire of 1,500 to 2,000 horse and foot; on December 15th 10,000 men are reported to be on their way, under the command of the Earl of Glamorgan; yet another body of

1,500 horse was expected under the Earl of Northampton; as well as the horse of Oxford and the adjacent garrisons numbering 1,000 or 2,000. Urgent messages are sent calling in all the power that can be raised. " Poyntz should be written to hasten hither; Lancashire, Shropshire and other counties should send in all the forces they possibly can; *the whole Kingdom depends upon this bout,* there must noe more be left at Beeston than is requisite." So it went on through November and December. Brereton reports an addition to the entrenchments at Eccleston lane, and Hough Green. " Wee have secured as well as we can the passage on to Saltney and Hawarden. Wee keepe strong guards of horse and foote at Eccleston, Lache, Brewer's Hall, Dodleston, Poulford, our horse being disposed of to y$^{e}$ outquarters at Bretton, Kinnerton, and Col. Mitton with y$^{e}$ Flintshire Committee and his forces at Wrexham." They had expended " between September 20 and December 16, 1645, no less than 140 barrels of powder and bullets proportionable, and forty thousands weight of match, in entering the suburbs, storming the city and about the city in Leaguer at Dodleston, Eccleston, and they had remaining in stock at Tarvin and at the leaguer thirty barrels of powder and bullets proportionable and three thousands of match " [Add. MSS. 11,333]. A Council of War was held in the suburbs, December 20th, at which it was resolved to go out to meet the enemy and engage them at a distance from the city, rather than close under the walls, where they might be assailed in their rear by the garrison.

Council of War held December 20, 1645 in Suburbs of Chester.

Resolved 1. that we go out to meet the enemy taking a considerable party, rather fight them at a distance than neare the City so that those in the City might issue with them or fall on our rear whilst we were engaged.

2. Warton Heath be the Rendezvous to-morrow by neene a clock for the forces about the Leaguer. For Warwick horse, etc. meet the forces at Mopas [Malpas] at one. Reformadoes also at Mopas or else come to us to Whitchurch where the whole body is appointed to quarter.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Horse 1,600<br>Foot 1,700 | to stay. | 1,160<br>1,250 | to march |

1645. December 13. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

We have had several strong alarms of the enemy's great preparations for their relief, in the belief whereof we have been the more confirmed by letters intercepted, one whereof is under Sir W. Vaughan's own hand, which was an answer of a letter sent to him from the Governor of Dudley Castle, desiring some assistance to take in Rotchlie [Rugeley] garrison lately erected in Staffordshire. Their extremities in the City are very great and their expectations of relief are no less, whereby they are encouraged in their obstinacy. We have made use of sume mortar pieces which we lately borrowed from Shrewsbury, whereby great execution is done and on the 10th in the night fired in 3 several places in the city and killed and wounded divers in their beds, yet this nothing at all works upon them, but they seem still to remain as stubborn as formerly so as we judge it more easy as yet to fire and destroy than to reduce and subdue this strong city. The enemy hath prepared another fire-boat to set on fire our bridge over the river, for prevention whereof we have chained over the river and keep an extraordinary strong guard [Add. MSS. 11,333, fol. 14*a*].

1645. December 8.—Letter from Sir William Vaughan to the Governor of Dudley Castle, enclosed in above.

Having received his Majesties' commands to attempt the relief of Chester desiring to know by you what horse and foot can be conveniently spared for this expedition, I being here now waiting for further orders from his Majesty, being willing to do you any lawful favour, but for ye present can't spare any.

1645. December 15. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton and others to William Lenthall.

Though you may from other hands have received advertisement of the enemy's drawing together from Oxford and divers other of the King's garrisons, yet we have thought meet to send you the enclosed true copies of letters received from Coventry and Evesham, and of an intercepted letter of Sir W. Vaughan's intended for the Governor of Dudley Castle. All these hint the enemy's intentions to attempt the relief of Chester for their better encouragement wherein they have—as we are informed—lately received letters from the Earl of Glamorgan assuring them that he hath 10,000 men ready to transport and hath sent 200 barrels of powder, though we hear not of ye landing thereof, it is evident that the enemy will engage deeply for the relief of this city, which hath held out so long and so resolutely, this being of greater concernement to them than the rest of the

holds they possess in these parts of the kingdom. Whereof we doubt not but that you will be so sensible as that you will endeavour the procuring us timely assistance suitable to our condition [Portland MSS. 325].

1645. December 15, evg. Quarters in Leaguer before Chester.—Sir William Brereton to Sir Peter Wentworth.

Chester closely blocked up. All the ports made up and strong guards sett upon them, some of them within Pistoll shott soe that none remaine open but one little salley porte which is betwixte the Phenix Tower and the Eastgate.—[Passes refused] This city cannot be reduced unlesse it be by distressing them within.

It is true on the Welsh side wee cannot approach soe neare by reason of their royall mount which secures and commands Dee bridge. But wee have made two forts the one to command and secure our bridge of boates and the other to command that where we keepe a strong guard of horse and foote and from this mount we have drawn a line to Eccleston Lane, which we have trenched over. We have alsoe trenched over Hough Greene and secured as well as we can the passage on to Saltney and Hawarden. Wee keep strong guards of horse and foote at Eccleston, Lach, Brewers Hall, Dodleston, Poulford, our horse being disposed of to ye out-quarters at Bretton, Kinnerton, and Col[l]. Mitton with ye Flintshire Comittee and his forces at Wrexham [Add. MSS. 11,333, fol 22].

1645. December 15.—Committee of both Kingdoms to Sir William Brereton.

News of horse of Oxford and adjacent garrisons 1,000 or 2,000 marched to relieve Chester. Given order to Col. Whalley with 3 reg[ts] of horse to march after and do utmost to hinder their interruption or relief.

Put yourself in best posture to prevent.

Hear from Governor of Gloucester that in Wales about 1,500 horse under Earl of Northampton intended to relieve Chester.

Have therefore written to Counties of Warwick, Stafford, Salop and N. Wales to send you what they can [S.P. Dom].

1645. December 20. Chester.—Sir William Brereton to Committee of both Kingdoms.

Lancashire horse come into County but not to us. Foot not yet come.

Want of money and extreme duty makes those forces with us unwilling to stay and any more of Lancashire to [come] up to us.

1645. December 20. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Col. Mitton at Wrexham.

Recd certain intelligence that a great body of horse of King's approaching towards us, therefore fail not to send to all parts for all the force of horse and foot you can.

1645. December 25. Committee of both kingdoms to Sir William Brereton.

We did not in the least intimate anything which might occasion your drawing off any forces from the siege. On the contrary we acquainted you what forces we had appointed for your assistance. The forces are now returned to their several garrisons—desire you to proceed in your endeavours to reduce that town [S.P. Dom].

The guards on the Welsh side were very diligently maintained, and precautions taken elsewhere in the leaguer to prevent surprise.

1645. December 22. 1 p.m. Wrexham.—Col. Mitton to Sir William Brereton.

On my way to Oswestrie. Have sent for all ye foot that can be spared from castells in Montgomeryshire. Have special care on the Welch side.

1645. December 22. 4 p.m. Whitchurch.—Sir William Brereton to Col. Mitton, in answer.

Had given order before your letter to Montgomery horse and foot and my own dragoons to march back to ye leaguer, also ordered some more foot to Col. Duckenfield from Northwich and Tarvin. Nine troops of Lancashire horse which came up to us yesterday I sent back to Leaguer to be imployed where Col. Duckenfield, Carter and rest think fittest and most conducive both to blocking up ye citie and preserving the quarters on ye Welsh side from any Welsh enemy. Tho I would not order anie forces which might be anie waies irregular and make spoile in Wales and for ye end the rather propounded unto you yesterday Col. Carter's staying on ye Welch side.

We hear nothing of enemy's advance but rather of their retreat and dispersing themselves.

1645. December 23. Chester Suburbs.—H. Brooke, Dukenfield, John Legh to Sir William Brereton.

Col. Shuttleworth [Lancashire horse] was very earnestly by us importuned to rest his regt of horse on Welsh side, but would not assent—only he will send 100 horse at once to guard at Lache and to relieve them from that side of ye watter. We have about forty Staffordshire horse in discontented condition. We get as much dutye out of them as we can, but because of ye

scarcitie of provision here in the suburbs for them we cannot stay them here from their commanders any longer than till to-morrow at noon. A companie of Col. Brooks and about twenty-four seamen of Capt. Rich's shipp are come to assist us yesternight and this day half parte of all our foot are forced to go upon dewtie every night here. Your dragoons are sent to Col. Coote. We retaine the guards at Northgate and Dodleston with two companies from hence. The guards on the Welch side have been very diligently maintained.

Passages toward Bretton and Harden Castell have been most open. Capt. Piggotts' companie are unwilling to advance further than Tarvin supposing you commanded them no further so that the hard duty of our forces here are put upon will not be endured by the soldiers without some assistance speedily. Col. John Booth offers to lend us a great mortar piece y$^{t}$ is at Warrington if we had shells for it.

In all this Brereton was admirably seconded by the commanders of the garrisons. Some anxiety was felt about the bridge of boats. It was temporarily broken up and rendered unserviceable for two days about Christmas by an extraordinary high tide forcing the ice, but repaired again by the last day of December.

1645. December 23. Dunham.—Sir Geo. Booth to Sir William Brereton.

Two of Lord Kilmorey's servants had come out of Chester, desiring to live at peace.

Report Chester in distress. The Governor had sent to King unless he sent relief by New Year's day they must surrender. King had replied that he would send some of his own horse to join with Morgan and come in on Welch side.

1645. December 25, in ye morning. Dodleston.—Col. Carter to Col. Duckenfield, Brookes and Massie.

Special care of bridge this thawe, and if you find it is likely to breake, please send over the Lancashire horse to us on the Welsh side and if you can a company of foot.

1645. December 30. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Wm. Ashurst and Mr. Swinfen.

You write that some soldiers wonder we have not proceeded with mining. We have ordered to procure some miners but cannot obtain any, especially out of Wales (which are most convenient) but that which most dissuaded was the number of foot in ye cittie, more than those that lie about it. They have a great strength of Horse, so as if we should have sprunge

a myne and entred as formerly we could not in probability have expected anie better than to have been beaten out as formerly they have been.

Why there is soe great a number of foot in the citie. During that tyme that ye Citie remained unblocked up (which was after the battell at Rowton) on ye Welch side there was summoned and brought into the citty the Regiments of Col. Moston and Col. Wynne and soe manie Irish and others as they could collect in the space of seven or eight days.

Perhaps you may hear of some relief come into Chester. Upon ye change of ye weather we were constrained to hasten back from Whitchurch, but an houer or two before we came, our bridge was removed by ye ice, whereof the enemy taking notice and advantage brought in some meale which is said to be about fifty measures which was brought upon ye same horses they rid upon which will not enable them to hold out one day longer. Our horse went over on Saboth day at Blackon parth [Blacon point?] and lye now about Mould, Northoppe and Denbigh, and have conveyed over some foote by boates to strengthen the Welsh side and hope within a few days the bridge will be erected again so as there is no fear of further danger.

1645. December 31. Suburbs of Chester.—Sir William Brereton to Sir J. Glynne, Recorder.

Now our bridge is lyd again. . . . the troop from Flint and Hawarden, about 1,000 Horse and 2,000 Foot left to keep Leaguer, which we advanced to Whitchurch with 1,500 Foot and 1,500 Horse.

The weather this Christmastide continued to be so severe that the besiegers were subject to great hardships which were accentuated by scarcity of provisions, lack of clothing, and delay in the distribution of the soldier's pay so long in arrear. Brereton mentions as a special grievance that some officers are "constrained to drink water," and that others importune him to lend them money. "The army," he informs the Speaker, January 13, 1645-6, "grows every day more impatient of their hard duty and want of pay. Very many of our men daily fall sick; many leaving the Leaguer, many of the horse *beleaguering the Leaguer,* and refusing to be otherwise disposed of under pretence for want of pay, it being out of our power to satisfye them or the other necessities of ye Leaguer without greater

supplies and assistance not only of moneys but of provision."[41]

1645. December 17. Chester Suburbs.—The Committee at Chester to ye Speaker.

Sir,

We can't but with all thankfullness acknowledge ye great care which the honorable House of Commons have still had of ye safety and welfare of your poor county and in particular in expediting ye last ten thousand pounds assigned for ye payment of such forces as should be necessary [to be] employed for reducing Chester, which summ when first granted, your many other occasions and ye hopes we had of ye shortness of ye work considered, seemed competent. But ye great endeavours that have been made to raise this seige, hath occasioned such accession of forces for our assistance, and ye continuance of it hath been so much beyond our expectation that without further supply we are no ways able to carry on ye work, which God of his goodness hath brought towards an end, for it hath cost in amunition for ye Leaguer (before any came down from London) near 2,000£ and 1,000£ was disposed of by your own orders before it came down (viz.) 200£ to Coll: Gen[ll] Pointz, 400£ to Coll. Jones and Adjutant Louthiane and near 100£ for messengers. The Darbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Mongomeryshire and Lancashire forces, both horse and foot, officery and soldiery, have received so much pay already as we were able to give them out of these moneys, and we can neither procure them to continue here nor more forces as we have occasion, without further satisfaction. And ye extraordinary incident charges of ye Leaguer together with ye payment of our own auxilliaries added to ye rest maketh up a vast charge. Our own county is so exhausted, having been a constant seat of war for ye three years, plundered by those potent enemies, which have come against us and marcht thro' us. And for ye fifteen months last past, none having been two months without great auxilliarie force for our assistance, which have lien upon free quarters and ye maintaining this Leaguer three months with provisions (no other part contributing anything except Staffordshire and Shropshire) together with ye maintaining of our trained and freehold bands, our horse and dragoons hath made ye charge so great that it is not long to be borne without utter ruin of ye willing county, it having cost 1,500£, besides ye maintenance of 1,000 horse of free quarter, insomuch that

[41] Of these, the Lancashire contingent was the most insubordinate, "those of Colonel John Booth's regiment under Major Peter Brookes marching back of their own accord to Lancashire."

we have been forced to make use of all ye rents and profits of sequester'd land, in cheese and other provisions [and this] not answering ye necessary expence, we are forced to bye much, for paying whereof we stand engaged, all which we refer to your grave wisdome to consider of and determine as you see cause —and we shall always remain,

Your most humble servants,

WILL. BRERETON, THOM. STANLEY,
ROBT. DUCKINFIELD, PH. MAINWARING,
ROGER WILBRAHAM JOHN LEGH.

All this is besides that which North Wales hath done in maintenance of these horse and foot, which have lien upon ye Welch side, which doth arise to a great summ.

We have here inclosed sent you an account of so much of ye 10,000£ as came into this county by your order; and there are diverse great summs of money yet to be paid at London for amunition, etc.

An account of all ye money that hath come to my hands out of ye 10,000£, as came into the county ordered by ye Hon. Houses of Parliament for ye forces against Chester and how ye same is disbursed.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Received from Mr. Henry C which came along with Sir W. Brereton from London at three several payments in all ye sum of - - - | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| Received from Mr. Richard Wyrral at two several payments - - - - - - - - - - | 4300 | 0 | 0 |
| Received in lot | 6300 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to ye Lancashire forces Horse and foot in ye service in ye Leaguer before Chester as appears under ye hands of Lieut. Col. Chauntrill, Lt. Leigh, Capt. Ireland, Capt. Aspenall, Capt. Croste, Major Jackson, Lt. Wynstanley, Lt. Booth, Lt. Liddon, Major Willowbey, Capt. Standish, and ye rest of ye Officiers, we being engaged to pay these more money on Saturday next who have been in great discontents for want of money - - - - - - - - - - | 730 | 15 | 4 |
| Paid to ye Stafford horse and foot in service in ye Leaguer before Chester as appears under ye hands of Col. Bowyr, Major Downs, Capt. Pudsey, Capt. Munk, Capt. Hunt, Lt. Ridgwaye and ye rest of ye Officiers, we being engaged that these must have a very large summ of money on Wednesday next who are at present in great want | 534 | 4 | 6 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paid to ye Shropshire Horse and Foot who are in Service in ye Leaguer before Chester, as appears under ye hands of Coll. Coote, Lt. Ashton, Major Fenwick, Quarter Master General Procter, Capt. Stanly, Lt. Barrow, Capt. Davenport, Capt. Smith, Lt. Fox and other officiers, we being engaged to ye Shropshire and Staffordshire forces in ye payment of a greater summ than they have as yet received, having been very modest, ye same being far more than we have to satisfie withal - - - - - - - - - - | 568 | 6 | 1 |
| Paid to ye Montgomery horse and foot as appears under ye hands of Col. Parker and Lieut. Colonell Twissleton, they expecting a second supply - | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | 2333 | 15 | 11 |
| Paid to Col. Jones, which was ordered him by ye house of Parliament out of ye 10,000£ - - | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Adjutant Genll. Louthian, being ordered him by the House of Commons out of ye sum above expressed - - - - - - - - - | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to ye Darbyshire horse on Service in ye Leaguer before Chester as appears under ye hands of Capt. Watson, Capt. Hope and Capt. - | 319 | 7 | 0 |
| Paid to Col. Greaves who was wounded at ye battle on Rowton Moor, where he did gallant Service and was at great expences in ye curing of his wounds - - - - - - - - - - | 050 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Mr. Barret, Chyrurgion to our Chester foot, for himself and his mates who was in want for Salves for ye wounded soldiers, having done gallant Service and hath not had any pay in long time and must have more presently - - - | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Mr. Sunderland for Powder and Match - - - - - - - 268 17 6 | | | |
| and for carriage of Amunition from London and great Bullich for ye Ordinance - - - - - 110 12 0 | | | |
| In all- - - - | 379 | 9 | 6 |
| Paid to Major Baker and Major Sleveny belonging to ye Reformadoes - - - - - - - | 015 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to the Cheshire Gunners - - - - | 047 | 10 | 0 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paid to ye Officiers and some of Col. Duckinfield's Regiment of foot, being constant upon Service in ye Leaguer before Chester and receive no pay from ye country - - - - - - - - - | 330 | 15 | 4 |
| Paid ye Officiers and Soldiers of Col. Jo. Leigh company, being in Service in ye Leaguer before Chester - - - - - - - - - - | 028 | 1 | 8 |
| Paid to Col. Wm. Massye 20£, to Major Daniel 20£, Capt. Wm. Daniel and Capt. Jo. Brooke 10£ a man, this being besides their ordinary pay. According to ye Cheshire modell they having been constand upon Service in ye Leaguer before Chester, in all ye sum of - - - - - - | 060 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1730 | 11 | 6 |
| Paid to ye Officiers and Troops of ye Cheshire horse who have been constant upon duty and received no pay since August last, 1645, as appears under ye hands of Col. Jones, Major Zankey, Capt. Clay, Capt. Wyan, Capt. [?] Lt. Smith, Capt. Edwards and ye rest of ye Chester Officiers of horse that have received pay, in all - - - - | 1253 | 16 | 0 |
| Paid to ye Cheshire Dragoons as appears under ye hands of Capt. Finch, Capt. Cynhart and Capt. Hall ye sum of - - - - - - - - - | 0416 | 6 | 0 |
| Paid Lt. Ely who was wounded being Lt. to Capt. Culmit troops - - - - - - - - - | 0020 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Lt.-Col. Venables in part of his pay, who did very good service being wounded in ye Storm and is much behind of his pay, being in necessitye | 0050 | 0 | 0 |
| Paid to Mrs. Culme and Mrs. Grant, whose husbands were slain in ye late Battle on Rowton Moor, near Chester - - - - - - - | 0020 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1760 | 2 | 0 |
| [Brought Forward] - - - - - - - | 1730 | 11 | 6 |
| [Brought Forward] - - - - - - - | 2333 | 15 | 11 |
| | 5824 | 8 | 5 |
| Paid to Messengers which had money allowed them by ye Hon. House of Commons out of ye 10,000£ and other incident charges - - - - - - | 475 | 11 | 7 |
| | 6300 | 0 | 0 |

Ye particulars whereof being in my account and very large which will make up ye same here, express'd to be 6,000£ besides all which Summs there hath been since ye first of Nov. Last received from this poor County above 3,000£ all which is disbursed to ye trained and free hold Bands and to divers troops of horse yett many companys besides officers of horse and Dragoons are still unpaid being of our own Country forces upon hard Duty and in great want of Cloaths and necessaries

December 18, 1645. JAMES CROXTON.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| More paid to Genll. Points by order of Parliament | 0500 | 0 | 0 |
| To Mr Sunderland for Amunition to be paid him at London - - - - - - - - - - | 0300 | 0 | 0 |
| Divers other Summs have been paid by Mr. Worral, appointed Threasurer by ye Parliament as will appear by his Account for Amunition and ye like at London. | | | |

1645. December 22. Tarvin.

Col. Ashton about his Regiment (Lancashire) refusing to march without money from their homes.

1645. December 22. Whitchurch.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Ashurst and Mr. Swinfen.

Encloses above letter. Urgent appeal. Lancashire forces refusing to march. Gentlemen of county making themselves responsible. Shropshire Foot have received seven or eight days pay for thirteen weeks.

Officers of Regiment of Reformadoes importuning him to lend £200 or £300, they had not cloathes to cover their nakedness, and officers and gentlemen of quality were constrained to lead their horses in their hands because they have not money to shoe their horses. Lancashire and Derbyshire have contributed none at all. The duty is extremely hard and much provision wanting and not only many soldiers but captains and other officers fall sick for want of accommodation and are constrained to drink water. It being most extreme hard for men to continue upon duty twenty-four houres together upon ayre as it is with us upon severall guards with us. We have had several great mutinies for want of money, and it cannot but be expected but sad effects will follow if they receive not a comfortable answere.

1645. December 23. Whitchurch.—Sir William Brereton to Committee of both Kingdoms.

Enemy holding out in expectation of relief from Ireland. Money wanted and provision. Country extremely impoverished. Our soldiers were necessitous, impatient and put to extreame duty—manie for want of fitting accommodation both officers and soldiers fall sick. Ask for provisions from neighbouring counties. Leaguer has continued already above thirteen weeks.

The strength of the blockading force under Brereton at this time was 7,100, of which 3,600 were foot and 3,500 horse. On the Cheshire side there were 2,500 foot and 1,800 horse and on the Welsh side 1,100 foot and 1,700 horse.

Several Councils of War were held, and fresh dispositions of troops made. The Cheshire and Derbyshire foot were sent back to Caerwys under Colonel Jones to strengthen the leaguer on the Welsh side.

A strong party of horse and foot was posted at Hawarden, Aston, and Shotton, and other bodies at Holt, Pulford, Dodleston, Lache, Saltney and Eccleston. Two hundred Staffordshire and Shropshire men were ordered to strengthen the guards at St. John's (where they had a useful battery); another guard from the Northwich, Edisbury, and Bucklow Hundreds was posted in Forest [Foregate] Street; and two hundred Lancashire men at the Northgate. The Stoopebridge and all other bridges between Hawarden and Chester were ordered to be broken down, so that all communication with Wales should be stopped. To prevent a supply of corn, bacon and other provisions from being brought in to the garrison by water from Rhuddlan and Conway, Brereton manned several small barques with musketeers and ordnance, under the direction of Captain Stephen Rich. One of these was named *Rupert*.

1645. December 25.—Council of War at Whitchurch (Red Lion).

Whether the advance to Newport (resolved upon yesterday) be not only hazardous—the weather being changed—but of great hardship to ye soldiers, and whether upon ye change of weather and thawe in as much as there would be a necessity of taking up the bridge over Dee to make passage for the ice,

there would not be an absolute necessity of more forces to strengthen the leaguer on both side y^e river.

Resolved that Cheshire and Darbyshire foot march tomorrow into Wales to strengthen leaguer on Welch side and that Col. Massies's foot coming from Nantwich Hundred with y^e firelocks march with them for the same service. The rest of Cheshire foot march to leaguer on Cheshire side.

Reformadoes under Major Baker, Lancashire horse (Major Jackson), Warwickshire horse (Major Hawksworth), Staffordshire horse (Col. Bridges), Shropshire foot (Capt. Stanley), Staffordshire foot (Capt. Monke), Lancashire foot (Major Peter Brookes and Capt. Aspinwall), remain at Whitchurch.

1645. December 29. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton thanks Committee of Salop.

All possible industrie has been taken to entrench on y^e other side. Have made two mounts above and about y^e place where y^e bridge was and there is one other work made near Brewer's Hall, a kind of entrenchment for securing our men there. Eccleston is also fortified and Poulford Church, and we did attempt, before y^e frost first began, to draw a line upon y^e Welsh side and gave liberally to those whom we could obtain to work, but these mounts did soe gall our men that we could make no further progress (being kept in continuall fight by y^e enemy's mount) than to y^e lane that goes to Eccleston. We are informed the City is desirous of and would willingly entertain a summons.

Reformadoes will not go without money and divers others are not only unwilling to work but to go upon duty.

1645. December 29.—Sir William Brereton to Capt. Glegg, Capt. Shipley, and all y^e officers of horse and foote at Laich and at Mr. Browne's at Saltney side.

It is this day ordered that y^e Captains of horse and foot at Lach Hall take with them a competent number of souldiers for their guard and some countrymen for their guide and breake down y^e stoope bridge and all other bridges betwixt Hawarden and Chester forthwith that are upon Saltney that they may have no entercourse between the said garrisons. Give notice to our partie at Dodleston and Bretton.

1645. December 29. Dodleston.—Col. Carter to Sir William Brereton.

The Lancashire horse which were ordered to quarter at Browne's and Graye's house instead came up to Dodleston. About twelve o'clock the Lach scouts discovered a partie of about 100 horse which got into the Town before the Governor could get up to stop them, which they could never have done if

the Lancashire men had quartered at Gray's and Browne's according to order. As soon as I heard I sent a troop of my horse to joyne with Capt. Glegg and Edwards who was captain of the guard and ordered them to take a company of foot and attend their coming out of the city. In the morning our horse found a partie that went out nere half an hower and never bestowed one pistoll on them. But after they were drawn away Capt. Edwards pursued them to Hawarden and took a cornet and a soldier who say that the party were about 100 and carried in about seven stone a piece of meate.

I had an allarum to-day sent from Col. Duckenfield that the enemy was sending out two carriages to Flint. I commanded out a partie to Hawarden all over these sands but they never attempted any such thing. I took a cornet of Sir Wm. Neale's who will take the Covenant and Armes. He says there was mutinieing by the Poor last week in which they called Lord St. Paull a French Rouge [Rogue]. And that last partie carried in about forty measures of oatmeale and some powder but that was the most.

1645. January 2. Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Committee of Stafford.

We have herewith returned Capt. Ashenhurst his Troope whoe were ordered to come upon duty yesterday but refused, wherein I cannot soe much blame the officers, for there was none with them but Cornet Oates who used his utmost endeavour to keepe them upon duty as the soldiers who were noe sooner over the water where they should have kept guard but they returned back and left the guard at large unprovided. The County much exclaimed that they should lye upon them as a charge and burden and refuse to perform duty, therefore they are sent back.

1645. January 10.—Aston.—Major Zanchy to Sir William Brereton.

Preparations of Ruthland for y^e^ Relief of Chester. Have certain intelligence that they have loaded several vessels with wheat and taken great store of backon from the country to this purpose.

I desire that you will have an espeshall eye to y^e^ Channell. I heare noe more of y^e^ Anglesey and Carnarvon Horses. We are in very greate wante of victuall in our quarters.

1645. January 11.—From aboard y^e^ Rebecka.—Capt. Stephen Rich to Sir William Brereton.

Reports delay in Liverpool boats, which prevents coals being sent. Have provided a boat of mine to watch and guard the

river for y^e^ prevention of any vessels that should come up to relieve Chester.

The boate has two peeces of ordinance and twelve musqueteires which shall keep continual watch for them.

You advise me letter of 10th inst. to be carefull to prevent relief from Rutland [Rhuddlan]. I have as above and a barque at Mosten side if shee cannot loade coales this springe will man her with men and ammunicion to lye at Dawpoole, and this next flood there will come a boate to your honour to lye at Blakenhead or where you will.

No more boats to be had—am persuaded there will be enough until next Springe, there not being water for five or six boats to lye at neaptyde. Intend my own pinnace shall be coasting up and downe besides the boate I have written of—watch night and day.

1645. January 12. Aston.—Major Zanchy to Sir William Brereton.

Intelligence from one who saw the vessel [a woman from Conway] the provision was

300 measures of wheat
30 flitches of Bacon
4 fatt Beeves.

They sett forth yesternight [Sabbath evening—W. B.] and the wind turning forced them again. Therefore relief will be attempted. Vessel hath twelve oars and thirty soldiers besides those that belong to the ship, and are resolved to surprise the Robbin by the way. It came up above Mosten last night and returned back because of y^e^ wind.

1645. January 13. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Capt. Hunter (Governor of Hooton) and Capt. Dukinfield.

Read and see need for vigilance and circumspection. Have a care about coals— send supply of oats of which there is a great present want.

Same warning to Capt. Rich and Major Ashurst, Governor of Liverpool.

Capt. Rich to Sir William Brereton.

I have three nimble vessels ready fitted inne with four peeces of ordnance, one with two pieces, besides my shallops [Add. MSS., 11,333].

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Starvation—Negotiation—Surrender.

The blockade now was so close and complete on all sides that Brereton cannot imagine much further delay in the surrender. His strong persuasion of this is shown by a letter of his arranging for the appointment of "a man of resolution and courage to rule and govern the obstinate citie of Chester when it is reduced." This suitable man he finds in Alderman Edwards, and he promises to secure for him in his office a weekly allowance. He also proposes that Mr. Bradshaw should be burgess of Chester.

1645. December 30. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Alderman Edwards.

Seriously considering that when ye obstinate citie of Chester is reduced, it will be most necessary that those stubborne people should have a man of resolucon and courage to rule and govern them, for this employment there cannot possibly be found out anie man so fitt as yourself who best knows the constitution of the place and people.

A taske of great trouble—your friends hope you will let them press you for it and to enable you to maintain that parte with the dignity belonging to that office, and that there be respect had of your great sufferings and losses, I will endeavour to obtain proportionable weekly allowance out of the Excise or some other publique revenue.

1645. December 30. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Mr. Bradshaw [? John Bradshaw, the Regicide].

I find the honest cittizens of Chester (upon my first mention) willing to elect you one of their Burgesses in case you will make yourselfe capeable thereof by takeing the oath of ffreeman amongst them. They in generall have a good affection unto you, yet stand upon this their antient privelidge (as they call it) that they count those Burgesses but out of their freemen. I cannot do less than endeavour the preservation and continuance of all their lawful privileges and customes. Therefore I desire if possible you will satisfie them soe far as to prepare for a journey to Chester when you may receive from them a

further relation for that purpose. Your very loveing freind and kinesman to serve you,

Wm. Brereton.

There are many desire that I may be made free of the city, whereunto I shall the more willingly incline if I may receive a resolution from you touching the grants, deeds and charters whereby my lands are free from all common duties. The words run thus directed :—

Monialibus et eorum successoribus qui sunt infra gildam mercatoriam nec jurati ad libertatem civitatis quod sunt liberi de muragio, pontagio, toluet, stallagio, passagio et omnibus mizio et taxationibus universis.

I desire to be satisfied whether this doe not forfait or weaken the interest of those priveledges [Add. MSS., 11,333].

Letters received from partisans or prisoners within the city indicate that the stubbornness which so vexed the Parliamentarians was being broken down, the hope of relief was becoming vague, the discontent of the soldiers in the garrison increasing, and the want of provisions sorely felt. Every care was taken to economise the supply left in the city, and search was made daily in each ward of the quantities of corn and meal in each house. Lord Byron's warrant of January 14, 1645-6, together with a summary of the returns which reveal the desperate plight of the city, will be found printed as an Appendix. They give the names of the various householders, with the number of their families, and of the soldiers billeted upon them, and the quantity of corn, meal, beans or bread they had. Eastgate and St. Bridget's Wards appear to have been worst off. In the former there were about one hundred and sixty families, of whom over a hundred had " no corn." These families comprised about nine hundred persons, besides about one hundred and fifty soldiers. In the Bishop's kitchen, although there were twenty-four in the family, there was no corn. Other houses with two or three in the family were reduced to " one great loaf " [Harl. MSS., 2135, 98, *et seq.*].

1645. Sunday. Chester Castle.—Lt. Philemon Mainwaring to Sir William Brereton.

Having a convenient and trusty messenger, send intelligence. Town is in great distress—the poor cry out dayly in the streetes for want of meat, desiring the Maior and Lord Byron

to turn them out of Town. Whereupon the Lord St. Paul (on Saterday last) hearing them cry out so, found fault with them. Their reply to him was, 'Thou French rogue, hould thy Tongue, wee must obey thy command and be starved to death.' This one told me who vowed they heard it in the market place. Capt. Dutton who went out of the Towne upon Sunday night last being fourteen of this instant returned this last night. His newse (as the Cavalry report it) is that Relief is coming but I and the rest of our friends conjecture it be all false, for since his coming, they be all mightily dejected, only they raise rumours to kepe their souldiers in harte, otherwise they would mutinie. I believe that if you summons the town once more, the comon souldiers will force their officers to yeld. I asked a Comander in town the reason of the ordinance playing, his answer was you gave it over the walls that Hereford was taken, but he tould me it was like all our lyes for he said Capt. Dutton came from Hereford on Thursday last. What the matter was I cannot say, but it gave them such an allarum that I could not slepe in my bed for their crying Armes, Armes, up and down the streetes.

Lt.-Col. Vane, Sir F. Gamull and Mr. Maior are, as I am informed, the only instruments that keep the towne, otherwise it had been yealded ere this.

Examination of George Standford, aged 20 years, who came out of city December 24, 1645.

A musqueteer under Capt. Bavan hath bene this month endeavouring to get out but could not get opportunity till five o'clock this evening when he leaped over wall near Phœnix Tower. Want of enemy doe much increase—not above twenty live cattle—little or no corn that through want of malt most of y^e^ Brewers have left of brewing—not any cheese—a turkey brought for Lord Cholmondley for 17/-. Soldiers do now believe the taking of Hereford and seem willing to have y^e^ towne surrendered, having no hopes of relief notwithstanding the Commanders seek by all means possible to feed them with deluding expectations. The women gather themselves together every day crying out for relief to the Governor and the rest of the Commanders.

Cannot hold out 14 days.

No date.—Lt. Philemon Mainwaring to his brother out of Chester.

I have received yours as touching the parties which came in the other night certifie the Gents there have neither cheese nor bread, all was 120 measures of wheate and oate flower and the generall report is they intend to come again ere longe.

Some of the compaine gave it out in the towne that there was no relief for them of anie consequence. Whereupon the souldiers in the morning following began to mutinie insomuch that there was one clapt in prison, I saw him myself and remaines in the castell yet. All the commanders harts are quite downe. This I am confident of, they themselves know not certainly of any relief. If they did they would divulge it and more then the truth. We have a great deal more freedom then usually, which is a verie evident signe of a declineinge age for otherwise I am confedent their malitious harts would not be so wanting in venting their spleene towards us as formerly.

Post. I desire to know the occasion of both your rejoicings though I have not soe broade a yarde to leape in as you heave yet when I heare the gunnes I leaped from one side of the Goblin's tower to ye other and with as light a hart as anie of you.

No date.—Intelligence out of ye citie.

Memorandum. That if you intend to storme, that it be at six o'clocke of the night at which tyme the halberdiers are not brought to the walls, and the horsemen and commanders will be at supper. Theire horse will be drawne into the Abbey Courte. The towne is scarce of powder all falling on sound when cannons shouting of, and a great shoute to be made which will soe terrifie them that their greatest ayme will be to flye, and alsoe setting Torches in the steeple which will be a great terrour. A few shottes at ye waterworkes will bring it downe. There are three of the milles spoyled, only two left standing. The Maiors mayde brings them greate intelligence and severall other women come over the walles. The Lord St. Paull was found in bedd with a minister's wife and Grosvener with an other hore at ye Glover's stone. "Mr. Answorth."

1645. December 30. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Lord Byron.

Has heard that the prisoners have been treated hardly through want of victuals and other accommodation. Sends a drum, to satisfy him—if refused admittance will consider charge just and will retaliate.

1645. December 31.—Lord Byron to Sir William Brereton.

Have examined how your prisoners have hitherto been accommodated. Find, notwithstanding the siege, they have been provided far better than those of ours in your possession. We shall so far remember charity begins at home and as your design is to reduce us by starving not to suffer the plentiful provision of prisoners to straighten those who faithfully serve in the garrison. If you send any provision for them it shall be faithfully given.

1645. January 2. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Lord Byron.

Replies—am willing to exchange an equal number of prisoners with you.

1645. January 4.—Lt. Philemon Mainwaring, taken prisoner at Eccleston, October 15th.

The towne is in as ill a condition as almost you would wish. On Thursday last in evening at ye Parade 300 Welshmen laid down their arms and told Lord Byron unless he would afford them more meat they would do no more duty, but rather chose to stand to ye mercy of the enemy then to be starved in Towne. The Lord Byron his reply (openly) that if they would but hold the Towne fourteen dayes if there came noe releife he would surrender it. But that would not stop the simple Welshmen's mouths for they cryed out soe much that ye Lord Byron was enforced to forsake the Parade and leave them to their Welsh officers' perswasions who could worke noe effects in them till such tyme as ye Lord Byron sent them money to appeace their furye. Likewise I had private information they intend to relieve the towne with the same partie. It was ye last weeke, but that is beyond my beliefe. Notwithstanding it is good to be carefull. Am informed that the citizens now begin to perceive that they forge letters at their mount in ye King's name and send them into Towne only to encourage the souldiers and yesterday being Saterday, there were some who privately brought some provision into ye Castell for fear it should be taken from them by the search for it goes through the Towne every day and whosoever hath a little, halfe is taken from them. In a word they be all hopeless of reliefe both officers and souldiers and I am informed that they desire you would sumon the Towne, but only their proud hartes will not suffer them to call a parly first.

The daily acclamations and cries the poore people utter in ye streete I leave to ye bearer.

1645-6. January 8.—Intelligence.

Lord St. Paul came into Flint Castle privately without any forces—stayed not there but sent four men that night into Chester, and upon his going away a fire was made on ye top of Hawarden Castle to give them notice at Chester. Forty bags of meal left at Hawarden Castle when they relieved Chester and intend to bring more into Chester if they can.

1645-6. January 9, 10 p.m. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Sir Richard Skeffington.

Yesterday accidentally (some say purposely), a fire in the headquarters in the Maior's house at which time a great part of

the house was burned and much hidden goods and provision discovered, but little burned. My own chamber and three more in one corner of the house escaped the fire which was so repressed and restrained as is much to be admired.

1645. January 8. Chester.—Cornet Geo. Dodson to Sir William Brereton out of Prison.

Your marshiall reckons 3d. per diem for ye county allowance and ours here reckons here nothing but diet by ordinaryes and lodging so that we fear it will be a long business.

Sixteen Prisoners in the Friars.

1645. January 13. Chester Castle.—Lt. Philemon Mainwaring to Sir William Brereton.

Acknowledges receipt of one cheese one loaf to Capt. Stopporte and myself. Another to Ralph Jackson, prisoner in ye Hospitall, three cheese six loaves of bread to be divided amongst ye common prisoners and 40s. in money to be divided amongst them [Add. MSS., 11,333].

Brereton was consequently urged to make a fresh attempt at a parley for surrender. He therefore called a Council of War in the suburbs, January 6th, to deliberate on the question. Colonel Jones and eight other members were in favour of sending in a summons, while Brereton himself and three of his colonels voted in the negative. A summons was accordingly sent, the inhabitants thronging upon the walls on the approach of the trumpeter at the Eastgate, some of them declaring that he was welcome.

1645-6. January 7th. Chester Suburbs.

Experience tells you on what foundation your hopes of relief were grounded: But that you may see my tender care of the preservation of the city and the lives and the estates of the inhabitants, once more I summon you to deliver the city, castle and fort into my hands, for the use of the King and parliament. Expecting your speedy answer I rest,

Your servant,

Wm. Brereton.

Lord Byron rejected the summons, and the trumpeter was fired at from the walls.

The trumpet was sent with this summons to the Estegate where he made a stand after he had sounded, and acquainted them that he had a summons for ye Maior and ye Lord Byron. Whiles he stayed for an officer the cittizens throunged upon the walles and when he tould them he came

to summon the Citty the cittizens upon the walls answered, You are welcome. But when the officer (that went to acquaint Lord Byron herewith) returned he would not accept but rejected the summons, and they gave fire att ye Trumpeter from ye Walles.

At Council of War in Suburbs, January 6.

For sending summons : Majors Daniell, Bradshaw, Lt. col. Carrington, Mr. Bruen, Col. Massey, Adj. gen. Louthian, Col. Jones, Col. Leigh, Col. Duckinfield.

No summons : Brereton, Col. Carter, Lt. col. Gerrard, Lt. col. Venables.

For letter asking speedy answer, January 8.

Yes : Daniell, Venables, Massey, Croxton, Dukinfield, Sir William Myddelton, Louthian, Jones.

No : Leigh, Brereton.

1645. January 7th.—James Sherracke came out of Chester, January 7.

Was in city when summons was sent. Citizens exceeding troubled that ye Lord Byron had rejected it—a mutinie in city this morning about provision. Cannot hold out a fortnight—so many will be starved. A Welsh captain was slain this night upon Castle from St. John's steeple. Heard it was Lord Byron ordered the Trumpet back. The letter which was thrown over walls—divers copies taken—and gents feare it will cause a mutiny amongst soldiers and citizens. Divers Welch are dead from hunger. No drink to be bought nor any bread but what is got away by soldiers very early in morning and all ye dav none to be bought. Five Welsh died last Saboth day, were starved, formerly there died twenty-five in one week. No market these three weeks save for some oatmeal which was sold at 4d. ye quart and a guard set to prevent the soldiers from taking it. Morter did execution [Add. MSS., 11,333].

Reply to summons [to surrender] :

Keepe your foolishly senseles paper to yourselves and know there are none in this city such knaves or fooles to bee deluded thereby.

This was written by the Lord Byron in his own hand, but noe name subscribed therunto.

Brereton, not receiving an answer to this first summons, on January 8th sent in a second letter enclosing the same summons.

1645. January 8. Foregate Streete.

My Lord, yesterday I sent you this inclosed summons which as the trumpeter by whom it was sent informs me was rejected,

some of your officers affirme the contrary. I desire to receive a speedy answere herein and rest your servant,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

To this Lord Byron returned answer: "January 8th. Your lettre and sommons I have received and shall thereunto returne an answere by a trumpeter of my owne, resting your servant, John Byron." Not having received a reply as soon as he expected, Brereton sent again to the Governor a third letter "before their drum came forth." "I perceive my desires to preserve the city encourage so great obstinacie, as though you expected as good conditions, when you can hold out no longer, as if you had treated when you received the last summons which proceeded not from any fear of disturbance, for I cannot but believe you are hopeless of relief, but to prevent further misery and the ruin of the city, which will be remediless, unless speedily surrendered. Therefore you are to expect no treaty if your answer be not returned by three of the clocke in the afternoon.—Foregate Street, January 12, 1645-6. Your servant, WILLIAM BRERETON."

Before the trumpeter with this had reached the city the following reply from the Governor and the Mayor had been sent:—

1645. January 12. Chester.

Wee are not convinced by experience of the groundles foundation of our hopes of reliefe neyther (God be thanked) is our condition such as to precipitate us to a prejudiciall treatie. However if within twelve daies we bee not assured of our reliefe by a Gentleman and citizen whom we shall send for that purpose with a trumpet of ours and a passe from you, wee shall then be contented to enter into a treatie for the delivirie of the cittie Castle and fort uppon honourable and souldierly condicions, remaininge, Yor servants,

JOHN BYRON.

CHAS. WALLEY, for myself and all my brethren.

[Add. MSS., 11,333].

Brereton at once replied objecting to this as unsatisfactory and demanding a positive answer before ten next morning.

1645. January 12. Chester Suburbs.

The writeinge sent by the drum is noe satisfactory answer to the summons neyther will I assent to your desires in anie

part of it. If you return not a positive answer before ten of the clocke tomorrow morning, expect noe further treatie.

Your servant,

WILL : BRERETON.

1645-6. January 14. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Recorder, Sir William Strickland.

This inclosed will present you with ye stubborn resolution of some in the citty who are so deeply engadged by their unjust service and detaineing the estates of all the honest men as have forsaken ye citty so that they apprehend themselves in a desperate condicion whereof I was so sensible that I did not concurre in judgment with ye rest for ye sending in of these summons though in a submission to their opinions it being so overruled in a Counsell of Warre I did conforme thereunto.

Which tenders being so scournfullie received wee must resorte to ye use of all these extreamityes which wee are able though for want of powder and other materialls wee may be much disabled to doe that which might otherwise be expected.

It is true wee were furnished by the house with threescore and ten barrills of powder and it is as true before my comeinge downe fouerty [forty] barrills were spent that latter day they stormed. And we have soe many outguards which must be plentifully furnished with ammunicion least the enemy should suddainely salley out upon them as that greate quantity of ammunicion is dayly spent.

Wee have now a strong party of horse and foote at Hawarden, Aston and Shotton. We have ordered another strong partie of horse and foote to Holt. Wee have alsoe a party at Pooford; another at Eccleston; another at Dodleston; another strouug party at ye Lache; others at Brewers hall; others at Graye's house and Browne's house bordering upon Saltney; All which are upon the Welsh side besides that guard which constantly maintains the two mounts and sconces on the other side the water; all of which are supplied with ammunicon from hence; where wee could not possibly be furnished with such other materialls, granadoe shells for ye morterpiece and the like which might have expedited the carreing on of this worke. With the teadiousness whereof noe man is more affected then he who will leave noe meanes unattempted which may conduce to ye accomplishing thereof.

To this end wee are about to make some batteries and to use such other meanes as the engyeneres here shall thinke fitt.

1645-6. January 14. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Speaker Lenthall.

Wors[1] Sir, In my last I did advertise that those in the citty did seeme very desirous of a summons which was not then

thought fitt to be rendered unto them though afterwards some amongst them did soe much constrain us as that wee were prevailed upon to send the inclosed sumons.

It seemes many of the cittizens remaine soe enthralled and enawed as that they dare not oppose nor resist; many more soe deeply engadged to hould out the citty as that they can expect noe less than inevitable ruine; were there noe more guilt and charge upon them than to make reparacon and satisfaction to those honest men whose estates they have seized and possessed after they had turned them out of Towne. Hence it comes to passe that all former faire tenders have been rejected. Such is the strength of this citty being a very compact place and the walles soe high and stronge, as that upon the Cheshire side our cannoneers could not find any convenient place to fix a battery to doe execucon either upon the walles or over the walles upon the houses in the citty though there have bin nere forty barrills of powder spent in one day and when a small breach have been made and our men entered by storme, they have bine beaten backe with losse whence the enemy alsoe is encourradged this longe to hould out. Nothing has bine soe formidable to ye enemy nor done soe greate execucon as a morterpeece which we borrowed from Shrewsbury, for which if we could have bin furnished with shelles we should have bine able to have given you a better account; the want whereof and alsoe of powder hath much disabled us vigourously to replie upon them when they have rejected faire tenders. Notwithstanding which I hope to give you an accompt very speedily.

Postst. A strong partie of three Cheshire foot companies under command of Col. Massey and one of Col. Mytton's under Lt.-Col. Twisleton who have blocked up Hawarden Castle and secured these passages and they are likewise seconded by the Regiments of Cheshire and Derbyshire horse. We have sent another party to blocke up Holt by means whereof Chester will be deprived of all intelligence [Add. MSS., 11,333, 117b, 118].

On January 15th at length a letter was received from the Mayor and the Sheriff of the County of Chester to the effect that Lord Byron had been prevailed upon to make proposals for a treaty on honorable conditions. Brereton, who throughout the negotiations had shown no conciliatory spirit, returned an ungracious reply, and several letters and messages passed between the two parties during the following week, Colonel Duckenfield and Adjutant General Lowthian, who had from the first been in favour of a parley, using a moderating influence on Brereton.

1645. January 15. Chester.

Sir,—At the entreaty of us the Mayor Noblemen and Gents, the Aldermen and Cittizens of Chester, the Lord Byron our Governor in whome the whole power of treaty rests is pleased to give way to a Treaty upon honourable conditions to which if you assent commissioners to y^t^ purpose may be agreed upon by both sides. Expecting your answer, rest,

Your servants,
CHARLES WALLEY, Maior.
ROB. TATTON, vice comes, Com : Cestr :

1645. January 15.—Sir William Brereton to Charles Walley.

When I have soe long considered of an answere to your letter as you the Maior and Lord Byron took tyme to answer to my sumons you shall heare from me by a messenger of my own. In the meane tyme I rest Your servant,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

1645. January 17. Chester Suburbs.

Gentlemen, Wee have prevailed with Sir Wm. Brereton to give us leave to returne this answere to your last letter : that notwithstanding your former rejections of faire and honorable condicons and the expence of tyme and blood (which hath been occasioned by your obstinance) might justly provoake him to refuse any further treatie, yet that it may appeare that hee retaynes his wonted desires of the preservation of the Cittie and the Lives and estates of the inhabitants. If your Governors (in whom you say lyes the full power to treate) send out reasonable propositions betwixt this and Munday noone, he will take them into consideration and returne such answere as may stand with honour and justice, and may prevent the destrucion of this auncient Cittie which is desired by

Your servants,
ROB. DUCKENFIELD,
JAMES LOUTHIANE.

1645. January 17. Chester.

Gentlemen,—We have acquainted the Lord Byron with your letter to us directed, whoe is pleased to promise that within the tyme lymitted, a full answer shall be thereunto returned.

We remayne,
Your servants
CHARLES WALLEY, Maior.
ROB. TATTON, Vice Comes : Cestr.

1645. January 19. Chester.

[For S^r^ Will : Brereton Bart^tt^ in the Foregate Streete].

Sir, I have been made acquainted with a letter sent by some officers under your command to Mr. Mayor and Mr. Sheriffe Tatton, intimating your intentions to enter into a Treatie, and

requiring that propositions might be sent this day by noone, whereto at their request on the behalfe of the Gentrie and cittizens I have consented. But for that the propositions will concerne persons of severall capacities, as Soldiers, Gentrie, Cittizens and Clergie, and there being only yesterday (a day designed to a more sacred use) between that letter and the tyme of answer, I find it impossible that the propositions should be by that tyme ready. Wherewith at their further intreatie I held it fitt to acquaint you and to assure you I shall take an effectuall course for their preparation and doubt not send them early tomorrow morning by Commissioners for that purpose appointed, a list of whose names are herewith sent and for whom I desire that passe and safeconduct bee sent to meet with such as you shall appoint either at Eccleston or Dodleston, places at such a distance whence they may returne at night, during which tyme I shall not admitt any cessation of armes or hostilities, and remayne,

Your servant,
JOHN BYRON.

A passe and safe conduct is desired for

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sir Edmond Verney, Kt. and Colonell, | John Werden, Esq., | |
| Lt.-Col. John Robinson, | Christofer Blease, Alderman, | |
| Lt.-Col. Peter Griffith, | Wm. Ince, Alderman, | |
| Sergeant Major Tho. Thropp | John Johnson, Merchant, | |
| Lt.-Col. [Henry] Leigh, | Thomas Bridge, Doctor Moreton, | Divines, |
| Tho. Cholmundeley, Esq., | | |

their horse and servants [Add. MSS., 11,333, 120a].

To which Sir William Brereton (by the same trumpeter which brought the former) sent this answer directed to ye Lord Byron [Harl. MSS., 2155]:

I shall expect your propositions here tomorrowe morning by a trumpett and when I have taken them into consideration I shall either graunt a safe conduct for Commissioners, or return you a resonable answere. I rest,

Your servant,
WILLIAM BRERETON.

The next day my Lord returned this answer to the foresaid letter.

To Sir William Brereton, Bart.

Sir,

I have received yours wherein you desire the propositions of treatie should be sent you by a trumpett, which haveing seriously considered of, I find to be of so high concernment, both to his Majesties service and preservation of this Citty

wherewith I am intrusted that I conceive it altogether unconvenient to committ a matter of so great consequence to such a messenger; it may be you thinke our condition far worse then (God be thanked) it is, and therefore enforced to entertaine conditions upon any termes, but you may be confident that nothing can necessitate me to treate upon othere then honourable conditions, and that all of us here as well inhabitants as others, are unianimously resolved rather to suffer the worst of conditions and extremityes then anything that may blemish our actions in point of honor, if therefore ye intentions be for honour and the preservation of this Citty as you have formerly professed you will not deny to treat by commissioners which if you accept and send your engagement for their saffe goeing and returne they shalbe redy upon your answer to come with such propositions as I conceive to be both just and honourable for bothe sides: the reason why I admitt of no cessation of Armes dureing the treaty is to keep every man at his distance not knowing how things may take effect, and so rest

Your Servant,

Chester, Jan. 20th, 1645. Jo. Byron.

Sir William Brereton's reply to my Lord's last letter.

My Lord,

My former Sumons and sev'all tenders of honourable condicons doth sufficiently wittnesse to all men the reality of my desires for the preservation of that Citty wherin I have so great an Interest besids the publick concernment: yet neither that interest nor any othere shall incline me to an action of dishonour or disadvantage to more publique engagements, but I must tell you that it shalbe my care (after so many results of honourable conditions or the expence of so much tyme and effution of so much blood) not to admitt of any but such as are fitt for me to grant as well as you to receive. There is a vast differance betwixt the conditions you might have expected when I first summoned you, and those I can now afford you, yet that all the world may see that I desire not the increase of the Cittys miseries and charge I am contented (if you thinke your propositions of too heigh concernement to be sent by a trumpett) to grant a passe for any two gentlemen you will appoynt to come along with them, and bring your propositions to my quarters this day or to-morrow by ten of the clocke, where they shall receive befitting respects and our resolutions to treat with Commissioners or a reasonable answer from

Your servant,

ffrom my quarters in the suburbs Will: Brereton.
Jan. 21, 1645.

To which the Lord Byron sent this answer the same day.

Sir,

I have by my trumpett recived your letter and shall to-morrow by noone by Sir Edmond Verney and Sargt. Maior Tho. Throppe send the propositions required by your letter, and have therefore sent this Trumpett to desire a passe for them their horses and servants for their safe comeing to you and return back. I shall send my Trumpett to attend them to your bridge whence they will expect to be accompanied to your quarters, by such whom you shall appoint to meete them there, and conduct them thithere

I am,

Your servant,

Chester, Jan. 21, 1645. Jo. Byron.

I expect that the proposition be sent back by whome you shall receive them, so rest

J. B.

By the same Trumpitter was sent back this letter directed to the Lord Byron.

Sir,

I have received your letter and have hereinclosed sent you a passe for those gentlemen you nominated, and will send a convey which shall receive them at your fort upon the sounding of your trumpett at tenne of the clock to-morrow morneing and in the meane tyme I rest

Your servant,

Chester suburbs. Will Brereton.

January, 21, 1645.

On January 22nd, Sir Edmund Verney and Major Throppe, the Commissioners appointed by Lord Byron, went with the Governor's propositions to Brereton's headquarters, but the demands made appeared to the Parliamentary General so high and in some respects unparalleled, that they were rejected with scorn and disdain. They included not only the stipulation for the marching away of the garrison in "compleat armes, drums beating, collours flying," but also liberty to take away their goods and baggage unmolested.

Jan. 22. The day appointed being now come, the said two gentlemen went with the citty propositions from the Lord Byron to the Besiegers headquarter, where most of the officers commanders attended their comeing. A breviat of which propositions are those which follow :

Imp. That the L.o. Byron himselfe, all noblemen, comanders, officers, gentlemen and soldiers of horse and foot in the city, castle and fort have liberty to march away in compleat armes, drums beating, collours flying, etc., and that such of the city as desire to stay may enjoy their armes, goods, etc.

2. That any person, nor the person of any nobleman, comander, etc., nor their servants, be searched upon any pretence whatsoever, but liberty to march or stay as ye see good, etc.

3. That none of ye Armye intice any officer or souldier from their regiment or colours under any pretence whatsoever.

4. That no person comprehended in these articles shall in their March or Randevouse be searched or plundered on any pretence soever.

5. That I have with me two pieces of brass canon, one case of drakes with their traine and equipage with as much powder to discharge them twelve tymes and ten barrels of powder, bullet and match proportionable.

6. That sick and wounded officers and soldiers y$^{t}$ remaine be provided for and when they recover have passes to their colours or what army or garrison of the King's they please.

7. That all military officers, gunpowder makers, etc., have liberty to march away with Bag and Baggage.

8. That such a number of carts, horses and boats as I shall desire to carry good[s] armes and baggage be made ready, etc.

9. That any person in the precedent or subsequent articles may have liberty to goe beyond seas at any time within three months.

10. That the wives of any officer or souldier whatsoever within or belonging to this citty may have liberty to stay and dispose of their states and to depart with their moneyes or goods any time within three months.

11. That the Earle of Litchfield's body may be conveyed to Oxford, and the Earle of Derbye's body and others to such places as their friends desire to be interred.

12. That the Bishop of Armagh's library, the Countesse of Buckinghame's goods and all others that have brought their goods to this garrison for safety may have liberty to take them away to Conway or to any other place whatsoever.

13. That the fort at Handbridge be demolished, etc.

14. That upon agreement betwixt Kinge and Parliament the citty and castle be delivered to the Kinge or whom he shall appoint to receive it, and that upon demand.

15. That a generall exchange be of all prisoners and what cannot be exchanged to be ransomed for a mounthe's pay.

16. That there be a cessation of Armes for tenne dayes in North Wales and that my selfe or what officers and gentlemen I please not exceeding fifty have a passe to goe to his Matie : and to returne into any part of North Wales within that tyme, and in the meane tyme no free quarter or taxation to be layd upon North Wales.

17. That a convey of 200 horse be appointed for our guard to Conway.

18. That sufficient hostages be delivered up such as I shall approve be delivered to the Governor of Denbigh till the Articles be performed.

19. That all cittizens as well souldiers as others togather with the noblemen, officers, cittizens, etc., enjoy their lives and estates as formerly and that none be compelled to beare Armes against their will, and that Justice be administered according to the knowne lawes of the Kingdome by the civill Majestrate.

20. That all noblemen, gentlemen, officers, etc., have leave to live at their owne houses in England and Wales and enjoy all their estates as freely as formerly.

21. That no oath, covenant or protestation except such as be required by the Statutes of ye Kingdome be imposed upon any gentleman, officer, cittizen or other, etc.

22. That if any cittizen shall desire to goe beyond seas any tyme within six mounthes shall have liberty to that purpose.

23. That the Garrison which shalbe placed in the Citty be onely Cheshiremen.

24. That the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Cittizens, etc., shall injoy all there Auncient liberties, Immunities and free trade by land and sea, and that none be questioned for any act done formerly.

25. That noe Nobleman, gentlemen, etc., be questioned under pretence of any act done or word sayd or any commission or command executed before this tyme, etc.

26. That the whole Army shall not enter the Citty but the officers commanders and such a number of Souldiers as are agreed upon and those Cheshire men onely, etc.

27. That the dee mills and the causey with the water works and towre be not demolished, etc.

28. That all Citizens, gentlemen, etc., have the liberty of twelve mounths to remove themselves and famelyes out of the Citty.

29. That all the persons that have dwellings in the Citty though absent have the benifite of these Articles.

30. That all maner of persons have liberty to take the benifite of the law for preservation of their estates.

31. That no Nobleman, gentleman, officer, etc., shalbe compelled to any excessive taxation but such as formerly.

32. That all the Clergie of or within the Citty have liberty to goe to their liveings and spirituall promotions and enjoy all their rights, tythes, etc., without any molestation and that such as have any presentation to any liveing may not be hindred to have institution and induction.

33. That no Church or Churches within the Citty be defaced, that all that belong to the Cathedrall injoy there places, and all Romes and furniture be preserved from violence or profane abuse.

34. That Sir Gilbert Houghton, Bart., etc, and what Noblemen, gentlemen, etc., will goe alonge with him have passes to goe to Oxford or any othere of the King's armys or Garrisons.

35. That all Ladyes and gentlewomen have liberty to goe away with their horses servants and goods, or take the benefite of the tenth Article as seemes good to them.

36. That such Merchants within the Citty as desire to goe into North Wales about their occations have liberty to goe and to returne to the Citty any tyme in six months.

Brereton tendered to the commissioners his reply and the conditions he thought fit to propose, neither of which would they receive. Copies of these conditions were thrown over the city walls. They offered liberty to all Welsh soldiers and officers to go away to their own homes; to the Irish who had not taken part with the rebels, liberty to return into Ireland, or to march to any of the King's garrisons; to the citizens who were not Commissioners of Array or Members of Parliament and had not borne arms, liberty of their estates and freedom of trade, taking only the National Covenant.

1645-6. January 22.—Sir William Brereton to Lord Byron.

I should not have expected proposition of so high demands as those you have sent. We know your wants are great, your hopes of relief desperate. I will not trouble myself with answering the particulars of your unparalleled demands, yet to witness my desire for the preservation of the city I have thought fit to tender these enclosed conditions for the performannce whereof commissioners may meet and treat.

Imp: That the Citty Castle and fort without any slighting or defaceing thereof, with all the Ordinance, Armes, Ammunition or other furniture and provision of Warre therein whatso-

ever (except what is allowed to be carried away and is hereafter mentioned) with the County Palatyne seale, sword and all the Records in the Castle and City without diminution, imbezelings or defaceing be delivered up to me, or such as I shall appointe for the use of the Kinge and Parliament upon Saturday the 24th of this instant January, by eleven of the clocke in the fore-noone of the same day.

2. That none of the comanders, officers or souldiers or anv othere at or before their marching away doe injure or plunder the person or goods of any within ye Citty nor carry any thing away but what is allowed by these Articles.

3. That such officers and souldiers as shalbe left sick or wounded in the Citty or Castle shall have liberty to stay untill their recoverie and then have safe conduct to goe to Bridgnorth, Ludlowe or such place as by Commissioners may be agreed on, and in the meane tyme shalbe protected.

4. That upon signeing of these Articles all the prisoners in the Citty and Castle that have bine in armes for the Parliament, or imprisoned for adhearing thereunto shalbe imediatly set at liberty.

5. That such a sum of money as shalbe concluded upon by Commissioners on both sides be raised and paid for satisfaction of the souldiery to prevent the plunder and spoile of ye Citty.

6. That all cittizens and others now residinge within the City shalbe saved or secured in their persons, and their goods and estates preserved and kept from the plunder and violence of ye souldiers and have the like freedome of Trade as other Townes and Cittyes under the Parliaments protection have.

7. That all the Welsh officers and souldiers shall have liberty to goe and live at their owne houses, and that the Irish (who have not taken part with the rebells in Ireland) shall have licence to returne into Ireland or to march to any of the King's garrisons at their election.

8. That the Governour and such noblemen, gentlemen, cittizens and souldiers as are so minded, and are now in the Citty (except those that have bine members of this present parliament and have deserted the same; the Commissioners of Aray for the county and citty of Chester, and such as were of that grand jury that indicted many of high treason against the Kinge for their fidelity to the Kingdome) shall have liberty to march to such places as shalbe agreed on by Commissioners in maner following vizt. : the Governour with four horses and his Armes with not above 50$^{li}$ in money with him, every feild officer two horses, every Captain of foot and horse and Lieut. of horse one horse apeece, and none of them to carry with him above 10$^{li}$ in money, the Lieutenants of foot, ensignes and other

inferiour officers with swords only (without horse) non of them with above twenty shillings in money, and the common souldiers without Armes not any of them carrying above five shillings in money.

9. That the said Governour and such noblemen and gentlemen, commanders, officers, cittizens and souldiers as do march away shall have a sufficient convey to such places as Commissioners shall agree on, to secure them in their march from all injuries and incivillities that may any wise be offered them.

Brereton's account to the Speaker is as follows:—

1645. January 23. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

The last night we took four of their spies, and by them and by letters intercepted from Sir Richard Lloyd to Watts, the Governor of Chirk Castle we discover their designs and strong hopes of present relief, which, I belief did encourage them by Sir Edmond Varney and Major Thropp their commissioners put out this day to make such high demands in their thirty-six propositions, whereof there cannot be six assented unto, and the rest some of them most high and unparalled which were returned with as much scorn and disdain as they were sent out with confidence. I tendered unto them my answer to Byron's letter, and such conditions enclosed as I thought fit to propose, neither whereof would they receive. Our bridge over Dee was—by breach of the weather—disordered and made unserviceable two days, after which time it was repaired. The enemy is possessed of strong hopes of relief by sea, and to that end have at Ruthland and Conway prepared several vessels laden with corn, bacon and other provisions. For prevention whereof wee have provided several small barques, which are manned with musketeers and furnished with ordnance, wherewith we doubt not—by God's blessing—to secure that passage and to seize or repel those that come to their relief, whereof I have received strong assurance from Captain Rich. We are now again furnished with some grenadoes for our mortar piece. We are making a battery in the steeple of St. John's Church whence only—upon the Cheshire side—we can command and shoot into the city. But we are so unprovided of tackles and other necessaries for the firing and conveying up the great guns that we cannot yet perfect that work, which we hope a few days will finish. Postscript.—Whatsoever you have heard, I do assure you no relief, except a small proportion when our bridge was unserviceable, hath come into the city since I came down [Portland MSS].

1645-6. January 26.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

The citizens discourse very familiarly and friendly, and say they will be no longer deluded; but their grandees, who have enriched themselves by those honest men's estates which they have siezed and banished out of town, do know themselves in such a desperate condition that I cannot hope for the surrender of the town until they can hold out no longer, and the rather because they have an expectation of relief by Ashly and these forces that are preparing to join with them. To prevent the conjunction of the Welsh forces with them is that which is most necessary. To this end I have sent three regiments of horse, the Reformadoes, the Warwickshire, the Staffordshire, and my dragoons, which party I believe will make near 900 or 1,000, whereof Colonel Mytton takes the charge and command, who marched yesterday towards Ruthin to find out the Lord St. Paul, who hath gathered about 700 or 800 horse and foot, many of them forced men, whom if we could disperse might much advantage us, and disappoint and discourage the enemy. Postscript.—Yesterday the Mayor sent out to desire my propositions might be sent unto the town, whereunto I replied: If the Lord Byron sent out a pass this day by noon for two gentlemen they should be sent in, for whom I have now received a pass to meet in the midway but they will not admit them to come into town. The short note that I caused to be thrown over the walls expressing the conditions I offered did produce very good effect [Portland MSS].

Such hard conditions could not, of course, be accepted by the authorities in the city, and several efforts were made, in correspondence, to reduce the terms. Reference is made to the conditions granted to Dutch towns, and to York, Carlisle, and Beeston.

1645. January 27. Chester Castle.—Lord Byron to Sir William Brereton.

Sir,—Those demands of mine, which you term unparalleled, have been heretofore granted by far greater Commanders than yourself, no disparagement to you, to places in a far worse condition than, God be thanked, this is yet. Witness the Bosse, Breda, and Maestricht, and as many other towns as have been beleaguered either by the Spaniards or the Hollanders; or to come near, York and Carlisle, and nearest of all, Beeston Castle; and therefore you must excuse me, if, upon the authority of so many examples, I have not only propounded, but think fit to insist upon them, as the sense of all manner of people in the city. As for your conceit in demanding of myself, and the

rest of the commanders and officers, to be your prisoners, I would have you know, that we esteem our honor so far above our lives, that no extremity whatsoever can put so mean thoughts into the meanest of us all. That to submit to your mercy is by us reckoned amongst those things that we intend never to make use of. I am nevertheless still content that the commissioners whose names I formerly tendered unto you, meet with such as you shall appoint, in any indifferent place, to treat upon honorable conditions; and desire you to assuer yourself that no other will be assented unto, by Your Servant,

JOHN BYRON.

[Pigott's *Chester*, 307]

Brereton's reply is stern and unflinching, concluding with a merciless threat:—

1645. January 27. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to Lord Byron.

My Lord,—I cannot believe that you conceive the war betwixt the Hollanders and the Spaniards is to be made a precedent for us; neither can I believe that such conditions as you demand were granted to the Bosse, Breda, or Maestricht. Sure I am, none such were given to York, Carlisle, or Beeston, though some of them were maintained by as great commanders as yourself, and no disparagement to you. I shall therefore offer to your consideration the example of Liverpool, Basing and Latham, who, by their refusal of honorable terms when they were propounded, were not long after subjected to captivity and the sword. You may, therefore, in pity to all those innocents under your command, tender their safety and the preservation of the city; for which end I have sent your fair and honorable conditions, such as are the sense of all the officers and soldiers with me; which being rejected, you may expect worse from Your Servant,

WM. BRERETON.

[Pigott's *Chester*, 308.]

The Mayor and Mr. Tatton, anxious that no opportunity or excuse should be given to Brereton for the gratification of his implacable vengeance on Chester, sent, January 28th, requesting him to nominate his commissioners, with time and place to discuss terms.

1645. January 28. Chester.

To Sir William Brereton, Baronet, Commander in Chief in the Foregate Street.

My Lord Byron having acquainted us with a letter which he received from you the last night, in answer to his sent by the

said drum; by which we conceive you apprehend a rejection of your propositions, which we must wonder at, well knowing that my Lord writ unto you to appoint an indifferent place, where our and your Commissioners might meet, to treat upon the propositions on both sides, which is apprehended by us to be your sense also; your own propositions implying so much, and you having so often by letter expressed your tender care of the city's preservation, and prevention of the effusion of blood. Our desire therefore is that you will nominate your Commissioners, with the time and place, that ours and yours may meet to debate and treat upon the propositions tendered on both sides, without which there can be no hopes of a conclusion. So expecting your answer we rest, Your Servants,

CHAS. WALLEY, Mayor.
ROB. TATTON.

Brereton, in reply to this, appointed commissioners to meet the commissioners for the city at 10 o'clock the following morning, January 29th, in Foregate Street. Either this meeting was only preliminary, or there was some further delay, for on that day Brereton sends to the Mayor and Mr. Tatton an ungracious and peremptory message:—

1645. January 29.
To the Mayor of Chester and Rob. Tatton, Esq.

Gentlemen, Your several dilatory answers I have received and do assure you that if the Lord Byron, in whom (you say) the sole power to treat resteth, do not consent and act therein, you may forbear sending. Do not deceive yourselves in expectation that I will treat when you please. I am sorry my care for the city's preservation hath produced such unsuitable effects. The further misery that is like to befall the city be on your own heads, and not on, Your Servant,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

Whatever hopes of relief the citizens might have had, were dispelled by the retreat of the Welsh forces under Lord St. Paul before Col. Mytton at Ruthin on January 25th. By this success the intention of the Royalists under Lord Astley and Sir William Vaughan to join with the forces of Lord St. Paul, Col. Gilbert Byron and the Irish under Col. Roger Mostyn, was frustrated. Astley and Vaughan withdrew towards Worcester, abandoning any attempt at relief.

1645-6. January 2. Conway.—The Archbishop of York to the Marquis of Ormond.

May it please your Excellency,

Yours of the 12th of December I received not until yesterday, which was the 1st of this instant [January]. . . . Chester, with the help of some relief put in, on the Welsh side, may hold out three weeks, and much more, were not the poor unruly, who since the pulling down of so many suburbs, do pester that city. The Mayor's wife, always suspected, is gone to the enemy. Our forces from Wales, of some 100 horse (for foot we have none), under the conduct of Major Evet, put in this last supply of meal and powder, whilst the enemy were withdrawn in part to meet Sir William Vaughan, lingering at High Ercall, with 1,500 horse and foot (near which place he cut off 300 rebels in one quarter), in expectation of the main supply from Oxford and Worcester, under Lord Astley and Sir Charles Lucas, who should add unto his number in horse and foot, 2,200 more. We of the Welsh being quite frightened (and three of our five counties being for a great part of them under contribution to the enemy), are not able to make above 300 horse, and scarce so many foot, being, by a piece of ill-conduct in Prince Rupert when he was last in these parts, quite disarmed and discouraged. All these, joined with the foot mentioned in your Excellency's letter, will be more than able, with God's leave, to relieve Chester, and less will not do it. For they set their rest upon this business, and being defeated in this attempt are broken in these parts of the Kingdom.

And although, most excellent Lord, the place be in extraordinary danger, and that the loss of it will draw along with it all those hideous consequencies mentioned by your Excellency, as the sudden loss of these parts and all communication with that Kingdom, yet dare not I to advise your Excellency to ship your men until I do hear more certainly of the approach of such succours as are destined by his Majesty. Sir William Vaughan himself being drawn to Wenlock to meet them, but expected by a French Lord, who serves the King, Mons. de Saint Pol [Paul], now in my house, to come down the end of this week. I do therefore send a copy of the effect of your Excellency's letter to Chirk and so to Wenlock, to understand punctually and precisely the time of the succour's falling down, that I may send your Excellency the very daily motions of that army, and hereof I look for an answer within three days.

But the exigency of Chester so requiring, I humbly submit it to Your Excellency's better judgment whether your Excellency will not with all speed transport those men, who need not advance further than Anglesey, Carnarvon, and the skirts

of Denbighshire, but remain so unengaged until the King's horse shall meet and receive them, and they in the meantime will secure these tottering counties. And the vessels that transport them may for eight or ten days lie to ride very securely in that sleeve between Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, until the foot shall punctually understand what to trust unto.

If your Excellency's men do arrive here, they shall be, by God's blessing, provided of good and safe quarters, all along to their joining with the relief, and have necessary refreshment; but I fear me the business will not suffer them to use that plentifully until the action be performed. But who shall assure you of this, my Lord Byron being in Chester, I do not know, but do write to him likewise of that point, and do promise faithfully my own diligence to the utmost of my power to effect it. But I must be clear with your Excellency that his Majesty hath given me no real commission or authority in this place (although I could have given him, whilst my body was able to bear it, a better account than he hath had of these town and counties). But what I do, is by private interest and for particular ends thwarted and opposed by such as should further the service; yet I hope, in God, I shall be able to do what your Lordship desires in this just and reasonable demand.

Your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

JO. EBORAC.

Writing to Lord Astley on the 25th of January, the Archbishop says:—

From the Lord-Lieutenant [Ormond] I have received no answer in writing as yet, though my letters to his Excellency were many since the Ist of January; nor from the Lord Digby any more to the purpose than this enclosed. There is, noble Lord, no relying upon these Irish forces for this service; though if they come they shall be carefully transposed to such a rendezvous as I hear is most fitting for the passage of your Lordship's army. And for that end your Lordship shall be punctually informed of their landing and condition. In the meantime, it is fit your Lordship should understand that under Col. Gilbert Byron, the Lord of St. Paul is in these parts, at the head of 600 (as he saith), but I believe of 500 horse and foot, good men and well-armed, to be directed and employed by your Lordship. Next, that Lieut.-Col. Roger Mostyn is landed with a piece of a regiment (some 160 men, as Col. Butler tells me) of the Lord Digby's raised in Ireland, of English and some Lorainses [*sic*], and he will be able to make it up 200 upon his own credit (a Commissioner of Array and Peace in this country), and will be after a day or two's refreshment at your Lordship's disposal.

I have it from good and knowing hands, that the armed and fighting men at Chester are above 4,000, whereof many may issue forth [Tanner MSS., vol. lx., folio 386].

The following letter is said to have been flung over the walls into the city, a few days before the capitulation.

Gentlemen, You are renowned throughout this Kingdom, your fidelity, valour and patience those on this side testifie no less, ingeniously confessing that they have not met with a more gallant enimy in any part whatsoever. Goe on and proseed for I do assure you that this long and tedious winter siege is ready now to make a sudden rupture among us; much adoe we have to hold together, and if you do but once more bring provision into ye citty, you need no other friends to raise the siege, for they are much troubled at the former business and a second one will make them mad. You have relief coming unto you, to prevent which, forces are drawing hence, and of which you may make use as ye shall see occasion, for wee have here a number of rude ignorant country fellowes which I am confident cannot endure a charge. The God of heaven bless you all and that most liall city which will be famous to all posterity. So prayeth a welwisher of the same, who hereafter may be better knowne unto you.

To all comanders of forces and soldiers together with the Maior, aldermen and cittizens of his Majesties most liall city of Chester, a welwisher of theres desires earnestly that this upon receipt may be presented from the suburbs.

The commissioners met on January 30th to discuss the terms of surrender. Lord Byron selected eighteen commissioners, but a greater number were appointed on behalf of the Parliamentarians, because, as Brereton afterwards explained, he wished "the soldiers to be better satisfied with that which was agreed unto by their own officers, and the officers, he believed, would be more careful to keep the soldiers to an observance of those conditions, which they themselves had signed and ratified."

The conference continued for several days, as the city commissioners were not agreed upon certain points. At length the Articles of Surrender, eighteen in number, were agreed to and subscribed by twelve of the city commissioners. The others dissented from some of the articles

and therefore refused to sign the Treaty, which, however, was confirmed in due course by Lord Byron.[42]

THE ARTICLES OF SURRENDER.

ARTICLE I. That the Lord Byron, and all Noblemen, Commanders, Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city of Chester, and the castle and fort thereof, shall have liberty to march out of the said city, castle, and fort, with all their apparel whatsoever, and no other, or more goods, horse or arms, than are hereafter mentioned, viz. :—The Lord Byron with his horse and arms, and ten men with their horses and arms, to attend him; also his lady and servants, two coaches, and four horses in each of them, for the accommodation of them and such other ladies and gentlewomen as the said Lord Byron shall think meet; with eighty of the said Lord's books, and all his deeds and evidences, manuscripts, and writings in his possession. And the said Lord and Lady, nor any of his attendants, shall carry amongst them all above forty pounds in money, and twenty pounds in plate. The rest of the Noblemen with their ladies and servants, to march with their horses, each of the said Lords, attended with four men, their horses and arms; and every such Nobleman carrying with him not above thirty pounds in money. Every Knight and Colonel to march with two men, their horses and arms; no such Knight or Colonel to carry with him above ten pounds in money. Every Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and Captain of horse, with one man their horses and arms; and such Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and Captain, not to carry with him above five pounds in money. Every Captain of foot, Esquire, Graduate, Preaching Minister, Gentleman of quality, the Advocate and Secretary of the army, every one of them with his own horse and sword, the Ministers without swords; none of them carrying with him above fifty shillings; and the Ministers to have all their own manuscripts, notes and evidences. Lieutenants, Cornets, Ensigns, and other inferior Officers, in commission, on foot, with every man his own sword, and not above twenty shillings in money. All troopers, soldiers, gun powdermakers, cannoniers, and all others not before-mentioned, to march without horse or arms; and that none of the said persons before-mentioned shall, in their march, after they are out of the city and the liberties thereof, be plundered, searched, or molested.

II. That all women of what degree soever, that please to march out of the city, shall have all their apparel with them;

[42] The dissentients were Sir Francis Gamull, Thomas Cowper, Robert Brerewood, Charles Walley, Edward Morgell and Robert Harvey.

and such officers wives whose husbands are prisoners, or absent, may carry such sums of money with them as are allowed by these articles to commanders, officers, or gentlemen, of their husbands' qualities and no more.

III. That none of the commanders, officers, or soldiers, or any other, at or before their marching out of the city, castle, or fort, injure or plunder the person or goods of any; nor carry any thing away out of the city, castle, or fort, but what is their own, and hereby allowed.

IV. That all citizens and others now residing within the city, shall be saved and secured in their persons, and their goods and estates within the city and liberties thereofe be preserved and kept from the plunder and violence of the soldiers; and have the like freedom of trade as other towns under the Parliament protection have, and such immunities as they of right ought to have. And that every such merchant and tradesman of Chester as shall desire to go into North Wales to look after his goods, shall have a pass to go thither and return back again, he first giving security that during his absence he will do no act to the prejudice of the Parliament; and that no such person shall at any time without license, carry more with him than sufficient to defray the charges of his journey. And that all citizens, and other inhabitants, who shall now or hereafter desire to march out of the city of Chester, and not to act any thing against the Parliament, their wives and families to have the benefits and privileges of inhabitants.

V. That such officers or soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded within the city of Chester, or the castle, or forts, thereof, shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and have passes or convoy to any of the King's garrisons not blocked up; in the mean time to be provided for.

VI. That the said Lord Byron, Noblemen, commanders, gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, and all others that shall march out of town, shall have liberty to march to Conway, and five days are allowed them to march thither, with a convoy of two hundred horse; the Welsh officers and soldiers shall have liberty to go to their own homes, all of them to have free quarters on their march, and twelve carriages if they shall have occasion to use so many, which carriages are to be returned on the sixth day, and that passes be given them for their safe return to Chester, and that they be secured until they return thither.

VII. That no soldier on his march shall be inveigled or enticed from his colours or command, with any promise or inducement whatsoever.

VIII. That all such persons, citizens, or others, who have families in Chester, and are now in places remote, shall have the like benefit of these articles, as those who are now resident in the city.

IX. That the friends of the Earl of Derby, and Lichfield, or any of those whose dead bodies are not yet interred in Chester, shall have two months time to fetch them thence whither they please, provided that none of them come attended with above twenty horses.

X. That no church within the city, or evidence, or writings belonging to the same, shall be defaced.

XI. That such Irish as were born of Irish parents, and have taken part with the rebels in Ireland, now in the city, shall be prisoners.

XII. That all those horses and arms belonging to those that march out, and not be these articles allowed to be taken and carried out of the city, except such horses as are the proper goods of the citizens and inhabitants that shall remain in the city before the delivery of the same, be brought, the horses into the castle-court, and the arms in the shire-hall, where officers shall be appointed to receive them.

XIII. That in consideration of this, the said city and castle without any slighting or defacing thereof, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provision of war therein whatsoever, except what is allowed to be carried away and herein mentioned, with the County Palatine Seal, Sword, and all the records in the castle without diminution, embezzling, or defacing be delivered to the said Sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint, for the use of the King and Parliament upon Tuesday next, being the third of this instant February, 1645, by ten of the clock in the forenoon.

XIV. That the fort, with all ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions therein, of what sort whatsoever, not firmly granted or allowed of upon the signing these articles be delivered to Sir William Brereton, or such as he shall appoint.

XV. That upon signing these articles, all prisoners in the city, castle, or fort, that have been in arms for the Parliament, or imprisoned for adhering thereunto, shall immediately be at liberty.

XVI. That the convoys shall not receive an injury on their journey, going or coming back, and shall have three days allowed for their return.

XVII. That if any persons concerned in any of these articles, shall violate any part of them, such persons shall lose the benefit of the said articles.

XVIII. That upon signing of the articles, sufficient hostages (such as shall be approved of) be given for the performance of the said articles.

Signed by us the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the Right Hon. Lord Byron,

| | |
|---|---|
| Edmund Verney [knt., col.] | Christopher Blease [alderman] |
| John Robinson [lieut-col.] | William Ince [alderman] |
| Tho. Cholmondeley [esquire] | John Werden [esquire] |
| Peter Griffith [lieut.-col.] | John Johnson [merchant] |
| Henry Leigh [lieut-col.] | Edward Moreton [Divine] |
| Thomas Thropp [sergt.-major] | Thomas Bridge [clerk] |

What is done by the Commissioners is confirmed by

J. Byron.

Commissioners for Sir William Brereton :—

| | |
|---|---|
| John Boothe [col.] | John Bowyer [col.] |
| Robert Duckenfield [col.] | John Carter [col.] |
| Chidley Coote [col.] | Jona. Bruen [esquire] |
| Roger Wilbraham [esquire] | Thos. Hunt [lieut.-col.] |
| Michael Jones [col.] | Rob. Venables [lieut.-col.] |
| Adjut. General Louthian | Richd. Bradshaw |

I doe ratifie and confirm these articles,

Will : Brereton.

Hostages for the performance :—

Colonel Wynn
Colonel Waiate

[Harl. MSS., 2135; Pigott's *Chester*, 309-314].

In accordance with this treaty, the loyal city of Chester, which had held out so staunchly twenty weeks beyond expectation, reduced by the extremity of famine, was, on February 3, 1645-6, surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, who immediately took possession of it; and soon after 2,000 arms and 520 headpieces were brought into the castle, agreeably to the fourteenth article of the Treaty. The House of Commons (February 6, 1645-6), after the reading of a letter from Sir William Brereton of February 2nd, from the suburbs of Chester, reporting the reducing of Chester to the obedience of Parliament, and the conditions of surrender, ordered Mr. Recorder and Mr. Ashurst to prepare a letter of thanks to Brereton and his officers " in acknowledgment of their faithful and very good services, especially in this

great action of Chester." The messenger, Mr. Parker, who brought the letters and good news of the rendition of Chester, was voted the sum of £50.[43]

1646. February 2. Chester Suburbs.—Sir William Brereton to William Lenthall.

Honourable Sir,

The care of preserving this city from ruin (being the most considerable in this part of the Kingdom), invited [me] to entertain a treaty, wherein at least ten days were spent in several transactions, the enemy still using protractions and delays in hope of their expected reliefe; for which end strong preparations were made, whereof we received frequent advertisements from several persons that Astley and Vaughan had united their forces, and lay hovering about Bridgnorth. Their intention was to have joined with the Welsh forces under Lord St. Paul, with those Irish that came over in December last, and those other now lately landed at Beaumaris, which were part of the Lord Digby's regiment, some whereof are English, and some Lorrainers, as these enclosed intercepted letters mention. To prevent the conjunction of which forces I sent three regiments of horse, the Warwickshire, the Reformadoes regiment, and part of the Staffordshire horse, and some of the Cheshire dragoons, together with Col. Mytton's horse and foot. This party was commanded by Col. Mytton, who marched to Ruthin upon Saturday night, January 24th, intending to fall upon the enemy in their quarters, but they escaped and marched to Denbigh, and so towards Conway. Nevertheless, our forces came most seasonably, for Ruthin Castle was so unprovided, as that we have now great hopes of reducing that strong castle. However, the conjunctions of the forces is hereby prevented, which probably occasioned the enemy's retreat after they had quartered three or four days about Bridgnorth and Shiffnal, and had drawn out some small pieces and two cases of Jacks [?]. So as the besieged, being now hopeless of relief, sent out their Commissioners on the 30th of January to treat with ours, whose names are herein enclosed.

The number was proposed by them, and assented to by us, to the end that better satisfaction might be given to the common soldiers when some of their own officers were entrusted and employed in treating and making compositions for them, that they might also be thereby obliged to restrain their soldiers from plunder and violation of what is concluded and agreed upon.

The first day nothing was concluded upon.

[43] £10 was given to the messenger who brought the news of the taking of Beeston Castle.

This day, January 31st, they were mighty importune that the treaty might be continued and respited until Monday morning at nine o'clock, which being refused, they delayed not to enter into a treaty. Whereupon it was concluded, to be delivered upon the enclosed conditions, whereunto it was the rather assented to prevent the plunder of the city, which could not have been preserved if it had not been taken by composition. That which further remains is the satisfying of the soldiers and the settling of the city, which will prove a work of great difficulty, wherein my endeavours shall not be wanting to the utmost of my abilities, or to serve the public in any other employment commanded, and shall ever profess myself to be Sir,

Your most faithful friend and humble servant,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

Though this letter was dated February 2nd, yet I thought fit to stay the messenger until we were able to send you the certainty that we were possessed of the city. What ordnance, arms, or ammunition, or what Irish are found therein, you may expect to receive an account in my next. I do not hear any further reports of the Irish, neither do I believe they will be now less forward to adventure into these parts.

WILLIAM BRERETON.

Chester, February 3rd, 11 of the clock [*King's Pamphlets*, 244-20].

The exultation of Parliament did not end with this grant of money and vote of thanks. It was "ordered that Thursday next should be set apart for a day of Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his great mercy in giving up the strong city of Chester into the hands of the Parliament, to be observed and kept in all churches and chapels in the cities of London and Westminster and within the lines of communications and ten miles of the said cities; and that the Lord Mayor be desired to give the several ministers within the limits aforesaid timely notice hereof, to the end they may stir up the people to a due thankfulness in regard both of the seasonableness and greatness of the mercy."

Colonel Michael Jones was appointed Governor of Chester, and Alderman Edwards, Colonel to command the City Regiment of Chester. Brereton was ordered to put the ordinance in execution against the Irish that were taken in Chester [*Commons Journal*].

Writing in February to the Speaker, he points out that the city is generally disaffected towards Parliament, and requires, for security, a strong force of men, and a considerable sum of money which must be expended in procuring a magazine of ammunition, and good store of provisions, as well as to alter and strengthen the fortifications. This means help from outside, for both city and county were exhausted by being for three years the seat of war, and by the burden of the long siege.

1645-6. February. Chester. Sir William Brereton and others to William Lenthall.

The city itself is generally disaffected towards us, so that without a strong force we shall be unable to secure the city or ourselves, no less than 1,500 foot and 200 horse being sufficient for that work. It will also require a large sum of money to lay in a magazine of ammunition, to have a store well furnished with provisions and also to alter and strengthen the fortifications, which cannot be done without assistance from neighbouring parts, none, as we conceive, being more obliged hereunto than the nearer parts of North Wales which, we must expect and shall desire to reduce by our own forces, Holt, Hawarden and Flint being three castles that in a manner block up this city on the Welsh side for present, and the Parliament's forces in North Wales being so inconsiderable that of themselves they are not able to reduce these holds. Also these parts having constantly had their livelihood by their trade and commerce with this city will be most awed to the Parliament and secured in their estates by the forces maintained in this place. We therefore crave that we may have the command of at least twelve miles in North Wales to assist for the maintenance of this garrison. The poverty of this place is such on account of their want of trade and the exactions, and the county so exhausted by being for three years a seat of war, and finally by the burden of this long siege that they cannot without assistance bear the burden necessary to be imposed [Portland MSS., 352].

1646. August.—Further inducements to move a speedy answer to the [Cheshire] petition.

That the small county of Chester, since the beginning of the war, was necessitated to raise treble the number of forces it was able to pay or the neighbouring counties proportionately raised, whereby the county is in great arrears to the soldiers.

That the charge of the leaguer before Chester being 19 weeks, was near £80,000, so that Sir William Brereton and the Deputy

Lieutenants engaged themselves for great sums for provisions, which are yet unpaid.

That upon the reducing of Chester they were also forced to engage themselves in £18,000 to the soldiers, a month's pay, otherwise they would not have been restrained from plundering the city and county of which there is near £8,000 yet unpaid.

That then the reducing of the forces had been attempted, but that many of the horse were ordered by the Committee of both kingdoms into Wales, and of the foot to the leaguer of Lichfield Close, whence they are all now returned and lie on free quarter expecting arrears and pay till they be reduced.

That some of the auxiliary forces yet unpaid of their month's pay promised at the reducing of Chester threaten to come and plunder the county for the same.

That the Excise is hitherto wholly obstructed and the people in a tumultuous manner have risen against the Commissioners and the soldiers express themselves against the Excise, so that there is little hope it can be set up till they are paid and reduced.

Among Brereton's manuscripts are preserved some notes showing the cost of this important siege, the number of troops engaged and the amounts paid to the several items.

A note of ye weekly charge of ye Leaguer before Chester from September 18° to January being more than 16 weekes, parte whereof is paid and a great parte is in arreare.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| On Cheshire side weekely provisions ffor foote being 2,500 | 0291 | 13 | 04 |
| For ye horse, ye Reformadoes, Lancashire and Warwickshire horse included, being 1,800 | 0540 | 00 | 00 |
| For ye quarters of ye officers in the suburbs which cannot otherwise be provided for weekely pay, paid or expected | 50 | 00 | 00 |
| ffor ye foote souldiers | 583 | 06 | 08 |
| More for ye Staffordshire foote who have provision out of their own county but have had and expect pay from us being 560 | 130 | 13 | 4 |
| for ye horse at 5s per weeke | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| for ye officers of horse | 337 | 0 | 0 |
| for ye officers of foote | 520 | 0 | 0 |
| On ye Welsh side weekly provision | | | |
| ffor 1100 foote | 128 | 6 | 8 |
| for ye officers | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| for ye horse being 1700 | 595 | 0 | 0 |
| for ye headquarters in severall places | 20 | 0 | 0 |

| Weekly pay, paid or expected. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| ffor ye foote | 154 | 13 | 4 |
| for ye horse at 5s per weeke | 425 | 0 | 0 |
| for ye officers of horse | 260 | 0 | 0 |
| and of foote | 140 | 0 | 0 |
| for engineers, cannoneers, comissaryes and chirurgeons | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| other extraordinary charges at least | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| all which reckoning the pay of a captain of horse at noe more than 39s per weeke and captain of ffoote at 20s per weeke and other officers proportionably and free quarter in the whole to | 4551 | 13 | 4 |
| The charge of ammunicion since the Leaguer comes to at least | | | |
| The totall of all the charge for this sixteene weekes comes to | 72826 | 12 | 0 |

Beside ammunicion [Add. MSS., 11,333].

The forces of this countrie [enclosed in a letter to the Committee of both Kingdoms, April 30, 1645].

of Horse 790
foote 4140

Garrisons—Nantwich — Governors—Major Croxton
Tarvin — Lt.-Col. Venables
Hooton & Puddington — Lt.-Col. Coote

A list of Cheshire fforces

| | Horse | |
|---|---|---|
| | Sir Wm. Brereton's owne troope under Major Zanckey | 100 |
| | Lt.-Col. Michell Jones | 70 |
| | Col. Duckenfield | 60 |
| | Lt.-Col. Chidly Coote | 50 |
| | Col. Brooke | 50 |
| | Capt. Hawkbridg | 50 |
| Staff | Capt. Stones | 100 |
| | Capt. Vivers | 50 |
| | Capt. Shepley | 60 |
| Taken | Capt. Bulkely | 70 |
| | Capt. Glegge | 40 |
| | Capt. Collham<br>Capt. Edwards | 50 |
| | Capt. Carter | 40 |
| | | 790 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Foote Tarvin | Sr W. Brereton's owne company under ye conduct of Lt.-Col. Venables - - - | 150 |
| Wirhall | Lt. Col Cooke - - - - - - - - | 100 |
| Hooton Nantwich | Major Croxton - - - - - - | 160 |
| At sall | Ld Calvin Capt. about - - - - - | 100 |
| Dragoon | Capt. Finch about - - - - - - | 70 |
| Salop | Capt. Sadler - - - - - - - | 70 |
| Staffe | Capt. Monke - - - - - - - | 60 |
| Wyre | Capt. Greene - - - - - - - | 120 |
| Wirhall | Capt. Glegge now disposed of Capt. Birkened | 160 |
| | Capt. Grubert's Dragoons - - - - | 160 |
| | Capt. Hulse & Cholmunley - - - - | 60 |
| Wyr | Capt. Rathbone - - - - - - | 80 |
| Tarvin | Capt. Hardware - - - - - - | 60 |
| Sallop | Capt. Spicere - - - - - - - | 40 |
| Wirhall | Capt. Wm. and Capt. Rich. Coventry and Capt. Ball - - - - - - - | 150 |
| | Capt Houlte's ffirelocks - - - - | 80 |
| | | 1520 |
| | Adj. Louthane's Company Broxton Hundred | 80 |
| Dissolved | Col. Boothe's Regt. (his owne compy. under Major Daniell) - - - - - - | 70 |
| | Lt.-Coll. Massyes - - - - - - | 160 |
| Country | Capt. Alcocke - - - - - - | 100 |
| Country | Capt. Grantham - - - - - - | |
| Salop | Capt. Geo. Massey - - - - - - | 100 |
| Salop | Capt. Cartwright - - - - - - | |
| Both at | Capt. Wright and - - - - - - | 80 |
| Salop | Capt. Whitney - - - - - - | |
| Nantwich | Two Nantwich Compies of Townsmen under Capt. Geo. and Capt. Thos. Mauberne - | 200 |
| | | 710 |
| | Coll: Brookes his Regt. of ffoote. His owne company under Major Church of Bucklow Hundred - - - - - | 140 |
| Houghton Castle Bridge | Lt. Coll. Rich. Brooke - - - - - | 60 |
| Strafford | Capt. John Brooke - - - - - | 70 |
| Tarvin | Capt. Wm. Daniell - - - - - | 60 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nantwich both Dissolved | Capt Delves & Captaine Blomell of ye Towne of Namptwh | 160 |
| | Lt. Tutchet's country company | 80 |
| | | 570 |
| | Collonell Duckenfeild Regt. | |
| | His owne company | 120 |
| Country Companies | Capt. Boothe's & Capt. Wattsones | 140 |
| | Capt. Syddall & Capt. Sellmerdine | 120 |
| | Capt. Smyth [Wm. Duckenfeild erased] | 60 |
| | | 580 |
| | Coll. Leigh's Regt. | |
| | His owne company | 100 |
| Tarvin | Lt. Coll. Gerrard | 100 |
| Country | Capt. Acton & Capt. Walley | 120 |
| Northwich | Capt. Pigget of ye Towne of Northwich | 120 |
| County | Lt. Birtle's County company | 80 |
| | | 520 |
| | Collonel Manwaireing his Regiment | |
| | Captaine Leadbeater, „ Cotton, „ Baskervile, „ Hancocke — about 160 all country men | |
| | 160 | |
| | Horse | 790 |
| | ffoote | 4140 |
| | in toto | 4930 |

[Add. MSS., 11,331, 45].

## CHAPTER IX.

### The Devastation Caused by the Siege. Parliamentarians in Power.

It would be difficult to estimate the pecuniary losses sustained by the citizens of Chester during this most calamitous conflict. "For a period of three years," writes Hemingway in his *History of Chester* [i., 196], "nothing was heard but the sound of warlike preparation, and for a considerable portion of it they were shut up within the walls, the victims of starvation, while they were distracted with momentary apprehensions of the forcible entry of a vindictive and enraged soldiery. The incessant drains upon their property, in the shape of levies for the maintenance of the garrison, and the support of their fugitive prince, had levelled the different classes of the community, and reduced the whole to one common condition of absolute beggary. Desolation and destruction marked the suburbs, which presented an undistinguished mass of ruins, the only remains of dwellings, while our walls and edifices within the city were defaced or battered down by the destructive cannon. In addition to this, the city lands were all mortgaged, the funds quite exhausted, the plate melted down, and the churches, particularly St. John's, being so long in the possession of the enemy, greatly damaged."

Randle Holme, jun. has preserved for us a most pathetic description of the ruin caused in Chester through this disastrous war.

Thus of the moste anchante and famous cittie of Chester, in times past; but now beholde and mark the ruines of it in these present times, within these few years, namely, within these three years, 1643, 1644, 1645, the particular demolitions of it, now most grievous to the spectators, and more woefull to the inhabitants thereof.

*Imprimis,* without the Barrs, the chappelle of Spittle, with all the houses, and gardens, and edifices there, upon Sir Will: Brereton's first assault made upon the cittie.

All the houses, barns and buildings near to the Barrs, with Great Boughton and Christleton.

In the Foregate Street, Cow-lane, St. John's Lane, with those houses next to the Eastgate, all burned to the ground.

Without the Northgate, from the said gate to the last house, Mr. Duttons [Jollye's hall], all burned and consumed to the ground, with all the lanes to the same, with the Chappelle of Little St. John, not to be found, when the mud walls and suburbs were surprised, Saturday morning. . . . .

From Dee-bridge over the water, all that long street called Handbridge, with all the lanes, barnes and buildings about it, ruinated and burnt to the ground when Holt bridge was taken by the Parliament partie and they came on Wales side. After a great part of it being built againe, was burnt to the ground after the rout of the King's partie at Namptwich and the Parliament partie comeing over the ford the second tyme into Wales.

All the glover's houses under the walles of the cittie taken downe about the same tyme.

All the buildings and houses at the Watergate, upon the Roodee, pulled downe at the same tyme.

Besides the Halls of severall gentlemen in the same cittie, and near to it, as the Bache hall, Mr. Edw. Whitbie's, ye recorder.

Blacon hall, Sr. Randall Crewe's.

Overleigh hall or Hough Greene house, Mr. Ellis.

Flookersbrooke hall, Mr. Shingleton's in lease, but Sir Tho : Smith's land.

The ffullers or Walkers mills.

Hoole hall, Mr. Bunburie's.

The Water tower at Dee bridge, shot downe in tyme of siege.

Bretton hall, Mr. Ravenscroft's, plundered and burnt little after the parliament partie first goeing into Wales; when they fled back againe, Chester soulders tooke it and about twenty soulders that were in garrison in it.

The Nunne's within the cittie, Sr. Will. Brereton's plundered and plucked downe at the first beginning of the wars because he was of the parliament partie against King and cittie.

The Lord Cholmondeley's house in St. John's Churchyard, plucked downe and burnt by the Parliament partie as they lay in siege about Chester.

Mr. William Gamull's house nere the Newgate, with the new gate house which was his [Mr John Werden's house near unto it].

The destruction of divers other houses in the cittie, with grenadoes, not a house from Eastgate to the middle of Watergate street on both sides but received some hurt by them, many

sleyne by the fall of houses which were blowen up, St. Peter's Church much defaced and pews torne, and all windows broken by two grenadoes that fell therein.

The ruines of stalls, pentices, doores, trees and barnes, in divers lanes and places in the cittie.

The destroying of the Bishop's palace, with stables in the barne yard, and the ruine of the great churche.

The charge of mudd walles, sodding, carrying, and edifying them, with centrye houses, both without the walles and within the walles.

The drawing dry of the cittie's stockes, plate, rentes, and collections, not knowne, all which losses, charges and demolishments, in opinion of most, will amount to two hundred thousand pounds att the least; so farre hath the God of heaven humbled this famous cittie; and note, here, that if Jerusalem, the particular beloved cittie of God, of which it is said in sacred writ, 'count her towers, marke well her bulwarkes,' in man's judgement invincible; yet her sinne provoked God soe, that he leaved not a stone upon another; this may be an advertisement to us, that God's mercy is yett to be found, since he hath left us soe many streets, lanes, and churches, yet unmolested. God grant us faith, patience, and true repentance, and amendment, that a worse danger befall us not. Amen [Harl. MSS., 1944, fol. 98, 99; Hemingway's *Chester*, i., 196-198].

Much information regarding the devastation wrought is contained in the Composition Papers of city Royalists. Extracts from some of these may be cited as typical examples. Alderman Thomas Throppe petitioned, July 28, 1646, that he held property in the city worth £64 13s. 4d. a year, "before the troubles," and deposed that he had housing destroyed and spoiled by grenadoes to the extent that its value was reduced by £15 a year. Widow Streete formerly paid him £13 for a house in St. Peter's parish, but one half the house having been "beaten downe by a granado" it will not yield more than £5 per annum. The chamber of premises in the same parish, let to Joseph Bruen at £4 10s. had also been "torn by a granado." He states that when the city was entered and fortified by the King's forces, he was constrained to accept the command of soldiers there, but never bore arms elsewhere. The sequestrators, in acceding to his request for a certificate of good conduct, exhibit the other side of the picture:

This gentleman, Mr. Thomas Thorppe [*sic*] hath been Maior of this Cittye, a Commissioner of Array and very active in it, hath acted the office of a Major in the souldiery and had a company under him whom he continually kept up violently against the Parliament. He with one or two other (after Sir William Brereton had been here to settle the Militia but could not at that tyme) wente to Yorke to his Majestie to procure a Commissioner of Oyer et Terminer (to keepe the Cittye in awe and feare) which he procured and brought with him to ye greate amazement and terror of all the well affected to the Parliament in this Cittye. Hee alsoe hath been very active in giveinge oaths to the citizens against the Parliament, and was one amongst others very active to keepe the Cittye soe longe against the Parliament to the greater expence of treasure, losse of many men's lives and ruininge of many faire buildings by fire about this Citye. Also he was a most active man in opposing Sir William Brereton when hee came by authority of Parliament to settle the Militia here at the beginning of the Warres.[44]

Alderman Richard Broster had lent much money to the Commissioners of Array, had been very active in giving Oaths against the Parliament and if it had lain in his power, would have kept the Parliamentary forces out of the suburbs. He held a certificate, August 27, 1646, from very many of the leading citizens testifying that upon the taking in of the suburbs he lost £2,500 and that during the siege several fine inns and houses of his formerly yielding £80 a year, were burnt to the ground, besides the loss of his share of the waterworks, which were of great benefit to him, and which were battered down.[45]

Alderman Walley, who held property in the city and county formerly worth £232 8s. 4d. yearly, petitioned, April 7, 1646, that he acted very little against the Parliament and was indeed a principal means for surrendering the city into the hands of the Parliament! It will be remembered that he refused to sign the articles of surrender. His estate was very much exhausted, his goods to the value of £1000 taken away and plundered. After the surrender he had conformed in all things to the command of Parliament, taking the National Covenant and Negative Oath, and was resolved to live in the

[44] *Cheshire Sheaf* (3rd Series), I, 8.
[45] *Ibid* (3rd Series), I, 49.

Parliament's service. In addition to his losses and payments enumerated in the reference to him in the Introduction, he states that *li*

At the armys cominge into the subburbs they made my howse their headquarters during the siege, spent all manner of provision which I valeid not, but by unhappy accident as I believe, my howse was fyer'd most part of it burned downe, greater parte of my goods carried away and lost by the souldiers, those that remayned spoyled and pulled in peces which howse and goods will not be made good with - 250

I have one other house in the subburbs called the Red Lyon, parte of it burned, all the goods gone and the house ruined, which will not be repayred with - - - - 200

I had one other house in Boughton nere Chester, both house and outhouse burned down to ground worth[46] - - 140

The demolition of the Globe Tavern without the Eastgate, the property of Alderman William Edwards and his brother, Mr. Evan Edwards, is also referred to in the following Assembly Orders:

Assembly. Friday, February 2, 1654-5. Richard Byrd, Mayor.

John Joynson, shoemaker, petition, that in the time of the late siege he had received great losse by fire, having had two houses and a kilne burnt to the ground besides many household goods, and that hee had all his bookes, shoes, materiall for his trade and other things, burnt in his shoppe and hee had a wife and six small children to maintaine and was destitute of a shoppe for himselfe and servants to worke in, whereby to maintayne his said charges, and desired the assembly to grant him in fee farme a certaine parcell of waste ground without the Eastgate whereon the Globe Tavern heretofore stood, promising by his said petition to procure a release and surrender from Mr. Evan Edwards, who claymed some interest therein, and that hee would erect a sufficient structure thereupon.—One halfe of the waste ground granted paying 30s. per annum [A.O. 847].

Assembly. Tuesday, August 21, 1655. Richard Byrd, Mayor.

In regard of the great charge Mr. Wm. Edwards, one of the aldermen and justices of the peace, hath been put unto in building a certain messuage called the Globe Taverne upon a certaine parcell of land belonging to the cittie with out the Eastgate, and for that the same messuage was unhappily burnt in the tyme of the late warre to his very greate losse and

[46] *Ibid* (3rd Series), I, 51.

damage, that therefore he shall have a fee farme of the said parcell of ground under the rent of 30s. per annum and likewise paying to the Treasurer by Michaelmas next the sum of £3 [A.O. 870].

As if this ruin and desolation were not ample enough to satisfy any vindictive spirit, a severe ordinance was issued for the city by Parliament on October 1, 1646, displacing the following Royalists from their office: Charles Walley, the Mayor, Nicholas Ince, Randle Holme the younger, Thomas Cowper, Thomas Throppe, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Francis Gamull, Robert Brerewood, recorder, Richard Dutton and Robert Sproston, aldermen and justices of the peace, James, Earl of Derby, John, Earl Rivers, Richard Broster and Thomas Savage, aldermen, Humphrey Phillipps, Edward Hulton, Thomas Weston, Richard Wright, Humphrey Lloyd, Richard Tailor and Arthur Walley, sheriffs peers, and common council men. Alderman William Edwards, Brereton's friend, was appointed Mayor for the current year, and until the usual time for electing a new Mayor in 1647, and was authorized to call an Assembly for the election of sheriffs, aldermen and common council men to fill vacancies, no " delinquent " being eligible. The Irish and others (not qualified by birth or service) who had been admitted into the freedom of the city " while it was kept in hostilitie to the Parliament," were to be disfranchised. The Dee Mills and Causeway, the property of the staunch loyalist Sir Francis Gamull, were to be demolished within four months and the profits of the mills in the meantime granted to the Mayor towards the expenses of his office. Payments amounting to £470 per annum were to be made out of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter of Chester for the support of preachers at St. Oswald's, St. Peter's, Holy Trinity and St. John's, and £45 per annum to the headmaster and usher of the free school [A.O. 664]. The High Cross was pulled down and the fonts taken out of the parish churches.

It was also ordered that all who had " been expelled the City or occasioned to part thence by reason of there good affection to y^e^ Parliament " should be restored to all such

places, etc., which formerly they held. Immediate advantage was taken of this by several disloyal citizens. Thomas Whittle, tanner, pleads October 23, 1646, that he was forced to fly from Chester " by reason of not complyinge with the malignant parties against the Parliament," his estate seized, and his wife and two children " turned out of the town in the depth of winter desolate of mayntenaunce." He asks for and succeeds in obtaining the appointment of Macebearer [A.O. 669]. Ralphe Minshull, cryer, avails himself of the same order, January 26, 1646 [A.O. 680] and John Iliffe, under keeper of the Northgate gaol is confirmed in his office [A.O. 681]. Upon a petition of a great number of free citizens, May 6, 1648, all " foreigners " who kept inns and victualling houses, were ordered to desist from infringing the liberties of the city [A.O. 690]. William Grice, yeoman, who had been enfranchised April 16, 1644 [A.O. 605] and disfranchised by the Ordinance of Parliament, succeeds in his petition, and is re-admitted September 8, 1648 [A.O. 704, 705].

On November 17, 1646, the election of city officials into the vacancies caused by the displacement of the Royalists was carried through. John Ratcliffe was chosen alderman and recorder instead of Robert Brerewood [A.O. 670] and Calvin Bruen (who had taken an active part in Prynne's affair), Robert Whitby, Robert Wright, Edward Bradshawe (a relative of Judge Bradshaw the regicide), Owen Hughes, Richard Bradshawe, John Whittell, Hugh Leigh, William Crompton and John Johnson were elected aldermen. The Hon. John Glynne, Recorder of the city of London, had previously (October 23rd) been elected alderman in place of James, Earl of Derby [A.O. 666, 667].

It is noteworthy how bad were the spelling and grammar, and how illiterate the writing in the Assembly Book for this year. The entries are carelessly made and after the record of proceedings at the Assembly, January 26, 1646-7, the following page is blank, and there are no more entries for nearly fourteen months. The year 1647 witnessed a terrible visitation of the Plague, the horrors of which were probably

aggravated by the neglect of public cleanliness and the unhealthy conditions which must have arisen from the crowded state of the city during the siege. It is recorded that between June 22, 1647 and April 20th following, no less than 2,099 persons died of the Plague in Chester. Grass grew at the Cross and in the most frequented parts of the city. Cabins for the infected were erected under the Water Tower, and in the adjoining salt-marsh.[47] The following description is taken from a printed contemporary account, probably one of the small quarto newspapers of the time, but it is not possible to say which :—

> The Plague takes them very strangely, strikes them black of one side, and then they run mad, some drowne themselves, others would kill themselves; they dye within a few hours, some run up and down the streets in their shirts to the great horror of those in the City.[48]

The distress in the city was brought to the notice of Parliament, when the following ordinance was passed by the House of Commons in August, 1647 :—

> Whereas Chester is grievously visited with the pestilence, very few families being clear; by reason whereof almost all persons of ability have left the said city, there remaining for the most part only the poor, who are altogether deprived of trading, and if not presently relieved are likely to perish for want, and endanger the adjacent counties : And whereas the county of Chester is exceedingly impoverished by the late war; 'tis ordered that the ministers of London and Westminster, those in the counties of Chester, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Middlesex, Essex, Hereford, Cambridge, Suffolk and Norfolk, do, on the next Lord's day after the receipt of this ordinance, earnestly move their people to contribute for the relief of the said distressed inhabitants.[49]

As the assembly of citizens could not be held without danger, Parliament issued an order, March 14, 1647-8, confirming the election on October 15, 1647, of Alderman Robert Wright as mayor, and William Wright and Richard Minshull as sheriffs, according to the ordinance of Parliament dated

[47] Ormerod, I, 247, quoting Cowper's MSS.

[48] *History of St. Mary on the Hill, Chester*, by J. P. Earwaker, p. 126.

[49] *Ibid.*

October 1, 1646. This order has been copied into the Assembly Book immediately before the record of the next Council meeting, March 17, 1647-8, when Wright and Minshull were elected common councillors and afterwards took their oaths as sheriffs [A.O. 682, 683]. An election of aldermen and common councillors followed on March 24th and on May 6, 1648, Mr. Peter Leighe, ironmonger, who had been concerned in Prynne's case, was elected an alderman [A.O. 685, 686, 688].

The citizens were so impoverished by the war and the Plague that they were quite unable to pay the assessments levied upon them by Parliament, from which they finally appealed to the Speaker.

1648. June 24. Chester.—Robert Wright, mayor, and others to William Lenthall.

The favour shown us by the House during the late plague here, encourages us to address them. This city before its surprisal by the King's forces, faithfully paid all assessments laid on it by Parliament, being about one eleventh of what was imposed on the county, but since then about a fourth part is burnt, the rest almost wholly worn out by the King's forces in their time, and by the payment of great sums by the most able citizens to the use of the Parliament after its reduction, and also by the devastating plague, together with the want of trading all this while. And now in the most miserable condition we are called on to pay assessments for the army and Ireland which we acknowledge are yet unpaid, not from disaffection, but inability. We therefore ask that all arrears may be remitted, and that for the future the city may be charged at only a reasonable rate [Portland MSS., 465].

On June 16th of this year a plot was discovered to betray the garrison into the hands of the Royalists, and four days later, in the absence of the Governor, Col. William Daniell wrote to the Speaker, informing him that

some of the greatest in this city and county that have served with and against the Parliament since the beginning of the late wars are accused to be prime actors in the business, and that God Almighty hath frustrated their expectations and preserved this place in safety and these parts of the Kingdom from an open and desperate war, and the lives of many godly persons from the malice of unreasonable men [Portland MSS., 463].

Swyndall, a common soldier concerned in the plot, turned informant, and the following letter from Col. Moldesworth was found in the pocket of Major Houghton, one of the accused :—

Deare Sr,

Prepare to morrowe betwixte twelve and one. I will come to you prsentlie so soone as you goe to worke. The word ys *ffreedom;* the marke a litle white upon yor lefte side at the harte. God speed us. Tuesday, I doubte not but before Nighte my Ladie Gamull will haue her Rents.

Your faythfull frend,

EDWARD MOLDESWORTH.

A number of the conspirators confessed that the city and castle were to have been surprised on Tuesday, June 20th, Moldesworth and others in readiness in a house adjoining the castle were to have been apprised by the firing of the great guns, and Capt. Oldham installed as Governor. Oldham and one Ashton, a corporal, were shot against a wall in the corn-market.[50]

At an Assembly held in the Inner Pentice, Tuesday, August, 8, 1648, the majority of those present " thought fitt and agreed " that Mr. Lancaster should continue Lecturer at St. Peter's and that a letter should be sent to him for that purpose [A.O. 695]. The Rev. Nathaniel Lancaster, B.D., of All Souls and Brasenose College, Oxford, was noted for his Presbyterian teaching. He held the living of Tarporley, where he died January 9, 1660-1. Many of the inhabitants, who had left the city for various reasons, did not return, as may be gathered from an order of this same Assembly [A.O. 696], directing that those citizens who were not returned to their habitations should likewise be assessed. The rising now known as the Second Civil War was at this time in progress, and as there was some fear of the approach of the Royalists, the city was put in a posture of defence. Capt. William Wright was appointed captain of a company of foot under the mayor for the time being with power to choose his own officers [A.O. 698]. The threatened insurrection was averted, but affairs in the city continued to be very

[50] *Cheshire Civil War Memorials*, Lanc. & Ches. Rec. Soc., XIX, 215.

unsettled. In July, 1649, Col. Robert Duckenfield was appointed Governor of Chester, and in the same year Charles II was proclaimed a traitor at the High Cross and other places in the city. The King's arms were removed from the Shire-hall, and those of the earls from the exchequer, and in the following year the bishop's palace with all its furniture was sold.[51]

Assembly, October 10, 1648.—Edward Bradshawe, mayor.

That an assessment should forthwith bee made upon the inhabitants of this cittie amountinge to Tenne Pownds a weeke to bee distributed to the poore of the same cittie. . . . And that such person or persons who shall refuse to paye his or their assessment shall forfeit and pay double the summe the said penaltie to be levyed by distresses or otherwise . . . . That the said assessment shall begin upon the 1st day of January next, to continue onely for the space of six monthes then next following [A.O. 718].

Assembly, Tuesday, last day of July 1649.—Richard Bradshawe, mayor.

Ordered, that a breach in the pavement in the fforest streete neere the Redlyon shall forthwith bee made up at the costs and chardges of the inhabitants of Johnes ward . . . . to bee gathered or levyed by way of Assessment and Mr. Simon Ley and Mr. Robert Annyon are nominated and appointed assessors. The said worke to be perfected within one month next . . . . upon paine and penalty of twenty shillings to be forfeited and paid by the said ward [A.O. 742].

Assembly, Tuesday, March 25, 1651.—Richard Leicester, mayor.

Ordered that Mr. Maior, Mr. Recorder, Mr. Ald. Ince, Mr. Ald. Compton and Mr. Sheriff Anderson shall treate with Mr. Richardson for the purchase of the late Bishoppe's Pallace for the Cittie's use [A.O. 765].

At the same Assemblye Anne Baxter, widdow, late wife of Henry Baxter deceased, did prefer a Peticon whereby shee sett forth that the said Henry Baxter about eight yeares since was indebted to the Maior and cittizens of this cittie as parte of the cities stocke in the severall sumes of twentie five powndes and one hundred powndes, for repayment whereof hee gave securities by Bonde with sureties, and that the said Henry Baxter at the tyme the late warrs began was possessed of woollen cloath and other goods of the value of three hundred and ffortie pownds at least, all which hee left in his howse in

[51] Ormerod, I, 247, quoting Cowper's MSS.

this Citie. And that the same in his absence were seized by those who then had power in this cittie whereby the said debte might have bin paid. And therefore prayes to have the saide Bonde delivered up to be cancelled . . . . [A.O. 767].

Assembly. July 17, 1651. Richard Leicester, mayor.

Ordered that the heires of Mr. William Gamull, late Alderman of this cittie deceased shalbee sent unto concerninge the repaire of Wolfe's tower and the howse over the Northgate upon the walls of this cittie, and to knowe whether hee [*sic*] will pay the arreares of rent due to this cittie for the same [A.O. 775].

In order to render the city of little use to the opposing faction, Parliament resolved, November 4, 1655, that the castle should be made untenable and the city wall razed between the Eastgate and the Newgate,[52] but apart from the towers and ramparts, it is doubtful whether the latter intention was carried into effect.

Many years elapsed before the city recovered from the effects of the siege, and when in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the walls and gates were repaired and rebuilt, they had long outlived their ancient purpose and were already providing that pleasant promenade and vantage ground whence citizens and visitors alike to-day may muse upon the vicissitudes to which their stones bear silent testimony.

[52] *Ibid.*

# APPENDIX I.

## Contemporary Account of the Siege in Harleian MS. 2155.

The following account of the Siege, contained on folios 108 to 126 of this manuscript in the British Museum, was compiled by one who had access to the papers of Randle Holme the third, from information recorded by eye witnesses in the city. There is a ring of reality in this seventeenth century writer's quaint description of events.

In February, 1641, the parliament take a gard from the citty of London and powered the ordinance for the establishing the militia (which they declare to be law whether the King would give his royall consent or no). In March ensuing the King issues out his Comissions of Array according to the Statute 5 Henry 4 and other subsequent records.

It begun here in Chester, Monday, August 8, 1642, with a great tumult caused by a drum beaten up by direction of Sir William Brereton, one of the knights of the shire, Alderman William Edwards and others of the puritanicall (but rebellious) faction who garded the drum with halberds, without the Maiors consent or advise : who having knowledge thereof sent for the Recorder who with some others went to the Cross (where was their first raiseing) and demanded the cause of that rout, who answered they drumed in behalf of the Parliament, whereupon the Maior sent the Recorder and constables to take them up and take the drum from them, which being done they still continued the tumult resisting all commands of both Maior and Recorder, who thereupon caused the Common Bell to be rung, which raised up ye faithfull and loyall cittizens in such numbers to appear with their halberds and headpeeces as they presently disarmed the puritanical guard of their arms, bringing them before the Maior, where Sir W. Brereton came on their behalfe. But when diverse disputed his authority, he to save himself from the violence of the cittizens, made a speech to them in the outward pentice, who would fain have thrown over the place into the street.

But at the intercession of the Maior and other sage Aldermen and cittizens he was suffered to depart to Alderman Edwards his house (though much threatened) goeing under an Harbour of crossed Halberds, carrying his hat in his hand all the way,

1642. as if he had been caressing and thanking the citizens for so unaccustomed a favour. But this levity the people much lamented after (when it was too late) because he was the principall agent of all the miseries that befell the city and county in the succeeding years. The King he was . . . .

His Majesty judged it requisite for the getting the Commission of Array and encouraging of the Royalists here, to see in what condition this county and city was: pursuant to which resolution he and the prince arrived here Friday, September 23, 1642, where he was well-comed by the nobility and gentry of the shire, and the Maior and cittizens in their greatest state and duty, and was by the City presented with a purse of £200, and the prince with 100li in gold, which was taken very thankfully, was conducted and lodged in the Bishop's palace and at his return on Tuesday following as farr as the city liberty was conducted by the Maior, aldermen, sheriffs and common counsell, etc. who at parting, every one had the honour to kiss his hand and so returned back to pursue his Majestie's direction for the security of this city against any attempts the parliament forces should make, it being at this time greatly threatned and envied for its stedfastly adhering to the King's interest.[53]

Upon the establishing of the Commission of Array here many noblemen and gentlemen from this and ye neighbouring counties flocked hither with their forces, to the great strengthening of this port, strong of it selfe, by reason of its situation and antique fortifications, but made much stronger by the advice of Coll. Ellis, Maior Sidney and other skilful engineers, who caused according to the modern way of fortification to be cut a trench and mudwall to be made from Deeside without the Barrs to Deeside at the new tower; the wall to be repaired and lined with earth, the Newgate and new Tower Gate to be mured up, diverse peece of canon to be planted in convenient places both for offence and defence: drawbridges at the Northgate,

[53] The following items occur in the Cathedral Accounts in connection with the King's visit:—

| | li | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| To John Garfield joyner by Christopher Pye for setting up ye deskes in ye Quire, Sep. 22 ... | | | xviij |
| To His Majestyes footmen their fees for ye canopie & carpet, Sep 26, 1642 ... ... ... ... | iij | - | - |
| To ye Ringers at his Majesty being here, Sep. 27 ... | | v | - |
| To Thos Bradb[urn's] wife for hearbes to rub ye seates when his Majesty was here ... ... | | | xij |
| To Mr. Jewet for his service in ye Quire by Mr. Sub-deane's appointment, Sep. 29 ... ... | | xx | - |

"The Organists of Chester Cathedral," by Dr. J. C. Bridge, *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*, N.S. XIX., pp. 85-86.

Eastgate, Bridge, and Castle to be made, and turnpikes at all the outworks, as Barrs, Cowlane end, without the Northgate, and at the mount at Deelane end, by little St. Johns, besides severall mounts, pit falls and other devises to secure the outworks and annoy the enemye's approach to the city.

Having thus secured themselves from outward force they thought it prudence to look within lest any of their fellow citizens (as there was too many rotten hearted) should endeavour to betray the city to the parliamentarians (then called roundheads) or hold correspondence with them to the detriment of the Royall Cause, and such as were suspected to be against the Commission of Array were either disarmed, or committed to the Castle, or permitted to depart the city to the parliament party, as diverse did, as Richard Leicester, alderman, Robert Wright, sherriff peere, Eaton, a ffinatical and seditious preacher, with more of his gauge.

While these things were doing in the city, the officers of the Commission of Array under the command of Sir Thomas Aston of Aston, baronet, went against Sir W. Brereton, who was made Commander in Chief of the Parliament Militia for these parts, and after a sharp dispute at . . . were worsted, and many gentlemen of loialty made prisoners, as Capt. Cholmondely base son to the Lord Cholmondely, Capt. Bridgeman, son to the Lord Bishop of Chester, and others.

But Sir Thomas Aston, minding to be revenged for y^e^ disgrace, having recruited and refreshed his forces, once again set forwards towards Namptwich against Sir Wm. Brereton, where Alderman Edwards being put into command, never drew sword, for which cowardice or knavery, or some other mischances, this second going out of S^r^ Tho. proved void of action: which so nettled the Lords in this garrison as they sent their forces and two brass pieces against him February 20, 1642, who meeting with S^r^ Wm. and is [*sic*] forces on Tilstan Heath, where after a short and sharp fireing at a distance, the Parliamentiers drew off the field, and our forces the next day returned victoriously to Chester.

But this sunshine was soon overcast by the absolute rout of part of our forces (joyned with the Trained bands of Broxton and Wirrall led by Capt. Massey of Coddington and Capt. Hurlston of Picton) through ill management of the business at Middlewich, March 13th following, by Sir W. Brereton's forces, at which time there was taken prisoners Sir Edward Mosley, bartt., with Col. Ellis (engineer of walls), diverse Lieut. Colls and Majors, eleven Captains and most of all the Officers, 600 souldiers, two guns or pieces of ordinance, many arms with all the Bag and Baggage.

1642. Upon news of which defeats the King sent Sir Nicholas Byron to be governor of this citty of Chester for martiall affaires, who had a fair opportunity to strengthen this place with all things requisite for maintaining a long siege, by reason Sir William being called into Staffordshire to the aide of some of his fellow rebbels, was met with by Col. Hasting March 22, 1642, who slew many of his men, took divers prisoners and he hardly escaped of whom we heard no more in these parts till ye July 18th (Tuesday) at which tyme he (Sir William Brereton), Willm. Edwards (a broken merchant), aldermen and diverse fugitive citizens against their oathes and allegiance with the parliament forces and some pieces of ordinance made their first attempt against this city.

1643. They first seated themselves in Boughton within some barns musket shott from our outworks, from which place they continued all Tuesday and Wednesday, pelting with small shott; and on Thursday stormed or alarmed the scentries at Cowlane outworks which was but only to keep us in play while they that morning betyme drew away their ordinance and retreated towards Tarvine, leaving a few in the Barns about Boughton, to keep our men in action and hinder our pursueing them.

But the day clearing, their deceipt was made evident; whereupon the citizens and souldiers by command of the Governor, July 20, 1643, fired all the barns without the Turnpikes at Boughton, pulled down to the ground the Chappell there and the store barn against it, ruinated all the houses there, cut down the trees, and so levelled the hedges as the rebells could have no shelter on that side.

Notwithstanding, the morning after, about seventeen or twenty of the rebells made an alarme at the Turnpike gate at Cowlane end, and shot for a while very violently, but were answered so briskly by our marksmen as three of them fell upon the place, which made ye rest to fly.

About November 9, 1643, Sir W. Brereton with his forces came to Farndon, in order to force their passage over Holt Bridge, which was strongly fortified, with gates and towers, being the only pass to enter Wales, which, after an hott dispute for several hours at length gained the bridge by the help of some that gott over the water and came on the back of the royallists, and going over the bridge with horse and foot, they marched to Wrexham, Flint, Holywell and all the chief towns thereabout, plundering houses, pulling down organes, defacing windows in all churches, with the arms and hatchments and antient monuments therein.

Then came to Hawarden Castle, which by the faithless Col. Ravenscroft and Mr. Aldersey delivered to them without a

gunshot : the delivery whereof was very discommodious to the city of Chester by stopping of corn, coals, lyme and all sort of victuals which by ye Welsh was brought in while that side was open.

But the city being now in a manner all about (at a little distance) besieged : And for feare of a closer belagering, the town of Handbridge was by command from the Governor to be forthwith pulled down and fired, which about November 10th was put in execution to the ruin of some hundred of people. But it fell out that about four dayes after there came from Ireland by command from the King . . . . [not finished in original].

About this time the Windmil without the Northgate was pulled down, because in the night the rebels therefrom shott at our sentries.

And on Saturday, July 22nd, in the evening a false alarum was given to the citty, and shortly after the King hearing of the constancie of the Maior and cittizens and the repulse they had given to ye parliament forces under the command of Sir William Brereton, sent letters of thanks to the citty and one especiall letter to the Maior expressing great thankfulness for his loyalty and care, and that towards alleviation of the charge of the citty and for their greater incouragement His Matie gave all the delinquents goods and lands within five miles of Chester to the city towards the maintenance of the garrison of Chester[54] and at the Assizes in the shire held ye 5 February, 1643, all that were in rebellion against the King or citty were according to the due form of the law indicted of high Treason, at least 300 of eminancie, and found guilty.[55]

Hitherto God seemed to smile on the undertakeing of his Matie by bringing the rebells to so low an ebb, as most of the grandees were ready to fly the county upon the King's approach towards London (but his march being diverted) they were forced to enslave their own consciences and country to the dangerous effect of the Covenant (a wicked act) only to gain the aid of the Scots to buy up their sinking estate.

After which, as if the prince of the air had received commission from the Almightly to afflict our Job in externalls, his Majesty was forced to make a cessiation, September 15, 1643, with the Irish Rebels, to free the regardless remainder of the English from their mine, and this his troops there might attend his service here, which they did, under the command of Major Generall Jobson [? Gibson] about November 13, 1643, landed so opportunely on the Welsh side as they in a short time upon

[54] Oxford, Nov. 7, 1643—Harl. MSS., 2135. [55] Harl. MSS., 2125.

1643. certain conditions recovered Harden Castle out of Sir W. Brereton's hands and Bretton Hall, in which was a garrison of souldiers (who as cowardly yeelded it up upon the approach of our citty souldiers [December 3, 1643] without a shot, as the owner thereof did the castle of Harden to the Rebells custody) which they took and plundered and almost pulled down to the ground. But these Irish souldiers very opportunely freed us for the present of those ill neighbours and once more left that side open to bring in releife.

The Irish souldiers after this came to Chester to refresh themselves, being extreamely harrassed and out of cloathes, and were in both wants supplyed to the utmost ability of the citizens, and whilst these were refreshing themselves, Col. Gamull with the assistance of Capt. Sandford and his firelocks, in the middle of a dark night, surprised the innermost ward of Beeston Castle and garrisoned it for the King.

And the newcome Irish souldiers being tollerably cloathed and heartened by the welcome they had here, resolved according to their duty, as much as in them lay, to impedet the progress of the parliamentarians army in these parts, whereupon in the depth of winter they took the field in search of Sir W. Brereton, whom news of their landing had posted to Stafford for more help, was comeing with them, whom they met with in a broad lane between Middlewich and Northwich, between whom on St. Steven's day, December 26, 1643, was fought a sharp battle, but the King's party got the better.

In this conflict was slain about 200, taken prisoners 300, besides many commanders and much ammunition, etc., they shortly after took the two 'witches, Crue Hall, Dareford [Hall], Acton Church and Bartomley Church, which were made garrisoned places, with the loss of 60 men and 140 of the Rebels. But their inhumanity to them of Bartomley was shortly after (it is believed) their own destruction; for upon their besieging of Namptwich which began . . . . and the storming of it, being a garrison for the Rebells, the Royallists lost many brave soldiers and commanders, besides many cartloads brought to Chester that were wounded and maimed.

[January 25, 1643. Sir Thos. Fairfax came to relief of Nantwich . . . . met Royalists near Acton Church . . . . ].

With this fatal blow given to the King's party our hope of any more of a vigorous defence had perished had not his Majestie upon hearing of this great loss before Namptwich sent Prince Rupert as Generalissimo of Lancashire and Cheshire, who came hither on Munday, March 11th following, where he was joyfully received and feasted at the citty cost, who, the day following with the Lord Byron, the Governor, and others,

3. rode about ye citty, viewed the mud walls, castle and other places, givein the Lord Byron directions for the further strengthening and management of the place, so that this place which was but a little before threatned to be close besieged, was by the Prince's vigorous discharge of the duty reposed in him by his unkle the King's majestie, so imbezel'd the Rebell's forces in these parts . . . . that they of the parliament were not able to take a formal siege at present.

Which gave Randle Holme, Esq., then Maior of the Citty (the father of Randle Holme from whose study (which is composed of many choise books and manuscripts as any private one in England) I have for the most part gathered this history) sufficient tyme which he prudently improved for the enlarging the ditches of the works both in breadth and depth, raised the mud walls, which before were but breast high to that height as a man might walk within the works and not be seen from without, cut the rock without the Northgate beyond Dutton's turnpike in a great Trench, made severall new mounts about Cowlane, cut off part of the old Trenches and made new by advice of the Prince's engineers more useful and not so dangerous for the assaulted or defendants, and repaired other places[56] thereof which were insufficient.[57]

4. And all ont requisite for in December following (writs ye enlargement of Chester after three years bondage) (you may know the man by the style) Sir W. Brereton with the forces of Cheshire and the auxiliaries of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Mongomeryshire, a very considerable army, designed the reducing (as he termed it) of this citty and Beeston Castle, and to that end formed a blockade or placed garrisons round the citty as at Aldford, Tarvine, Hawarden, Trafford, Upton Hall and other places about three, four or five miles distant from Chester to hinder us of provision: which prevailing not, they about the beginning of ffebruary they made the headquarters at Christleton, about a milne and a quarter from Chester, which they secured by mud walls, and on Easter Eve at Dodleston, Netherlegh and Lach on the Welsh side.

By which means the citty was greatly distressed by ye cutting [off] of our provision, to remedy which they of the citty, January 18, 1644-45, being Saturday, resolvedly issued out to beat up their quarters at Christleton and burn the town, but

[56] In the stone walls by the Northgate—Harl. MSS., 2135.

[57] The Maior, was everie day personall with them to his own great paines and charge in the encouraging expedition and comforting the souldiers at all gards where he still gave money as he passed. *Ibid.*

1644. by the treachery of them of Boughton, their measures were so broken, as there army was defeated and many of note (the chief of which was Coll. Werden, Lt.-Col. Vain, etc.) were taken prisoners.[58]

Feb. 19th. The approach of Prince Maurice frighted so the rebells as they raised the seige and withdrew themselves to the furthest side of Cheshire as remotest from danger, whereupon the garrison and cittizens in revenge of their treachery burned Great Boughton and not long after Christleton, and because the mud walls were of too large a circuit for the number of the cittizens and garrison to rell[y] men in any assault then eminently threatened by reason the King's forces daily declined, they resolved to use their utmost endeavour for the King's interest. It was judged while Prince Maurice was in these parts that the mudwalls should be brought to a narrower compass from the backside of the Tanners ditches to Cowlane Gate[59] and so all along to the walls of the citty under the Phœnix tower to the Northgate ditch; and Morgans mount was made on the other side the Northgate over against Goblin's Tower. And all the buildings [of stone] belonging to the Hospitall of St. John's with the Chapell were razed to the ground for feare of sheltering of the enemy.

Mar. 19th. No sooner was Prince Maurice departed hence but that the parliament forces againe re-enter Wales and plunder all the countrey to Gosana [Gwysaney], viz., Aston, Shotton, Hawardin, Mould, Northrop, etc., and above Chester, viz., Eccleston, Dodleston, Pulford and other houses about, and seated themselves as neer to this citty as Netherlegh, about a mile from Chester, from whence, April 7th, being Munday in

1645. Easter week, 1645, they gave an alarum at the further Bridge House, and pillaged Handbridge. But they were stoutly repulsed by the citty souldiers, and sent with a vengeance back without any loss or hurt to the garrison or cittizens, but much to the rebells, who lost some men. After which the Town of

[58] A list of the prisoners taken is given in *Perfect Passages*, No. 14, January 22, 1645 [K.P. 190-9]. It comprises Col. Werden [succeeded Col. Marrow], Col. Vane, Lieut.-Col. Gough, Sergt.-Major Grey, Sergt.-Major Deane, Captains Rory O'Neale (a notorious Irish rebel), Harrington, Ware, Pool, Ravenscroft, Capt.-Lieut. Marrow-Hagan, Lieutenants Humphreys, Goulbourne, Wright, Davies, Dowdall, Balls, Castleton, Brookes, Bryan, Dering, Ensigns Musgrave, Gorse, George, and Chute, Sergeants Price, Moulton, and Corporal Jackson; of Major Mainwaring's regiment were taken 36 men, 1 of Col. Trevor's, 25 of Col. Gibson's, 5 of Sir Robert Byron's, 33 of Col. Werden's, 1 of Capt. Smith's, 11 of Capt. Morgan's, 2 of Lieut.-Col. Grosvenor's, 6 of Capt. Lloyd's, 1 of Capt Rews,' 2 of Capt. Prichards,' 2 of Col. Russell's, and of Legge the Governor's own troop, 4.

[59] Which was sodded on both sides [Harl. MSS., 2135].

Handbridge was made another Treboath, being burnt by the command of the Governor Lord Byron, to prevent their nesting there, as were all ye Glover's houses under the walls by Dee side and the houses without the Watergate.

And had not the King approached towards these parts about the later end of May following, they had intended to begin their leaguer. He politickly to make a deversion of the enemy from these parts drew of northwards, as if to joyn with the Lo. Montrose—followed by Coll. Jones as far as Doncaster and Newark, by which tyme most of the sumer was spent which respite was employed by the cittizens and garrison diligently to provide themselves for a steadfast and vigorous defence, which the King encouraged them to.

But this northen expedition being blown over and ye parlit forces returned againe into these parts they clandestinely fixed upon a day for the surprising of this place, binding every one concerned in the action by an oath of secrecy which I find (by Chester's enlargement) to be no more then 500 Horse, 200 Dragoons, and 700 foot; who without any noise, by bywayes through the country in the dead of the night came undiscovered neer our citty and by break of day, September 20, 1645, stormed the suburbs (saith the author of Chester's enlargement). But more truly (if not by treachery) received into the possession a small mount neer Dee side at Boughton. From thence they set upon the main outgard, slew Lt. Aldersey, Captaine of the Watch, and put the rest, about sixteen men, to flight, and having possessed themselves by that means of all the mounts on that side the city, they with instruments which they had brought with them broke open the Turnpick gates, through which their horse and the remainder of foot entred with loud shouts crying a Town, a Town, which (writes the said Historian) utterly daunted the enemy : which is a manifest untruth, for the guards at the Barrs afterwards so long made good that post against all the opposition that body of rebells could make till they through the backsides of some house near thereunto in the fforegate Street fell upon their rear; at which tyme and not before they made an orderly though somewhat hasty retreat to the citty, whilest their enimyes were busied in letting in their fellow traytors through the Barrs, which they were no sooner maister of but that they begun to set guards where they might be most easily be set upon by the garrison, and posted letters of their success into Lancashire, Derbyshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire, and desired their help towards the perfecting of the work so happily begun; who neglecting all other engagements hasted to them, as if the work had been their own.

1645. But they of the citty in the meantime omitted nothing to impede their progress, and thereupon the same day ramed up the Eastgate with earth and issued out on the enimy at a salley port into the Callyards, but not with success answerable to their courage and loyalty or what was hoped for.

Whereupon they on Sunday evening burnt Cowlane, St. John's Lane and St. Thomas Street without the Northgate to hinder of lodging so neer the walls, whereby a great part of the enemies refuge were taken from them and thereby room given to our marksmen from the walls and towers to shew their skill, which they did with that dexterity as almost hourly one or other of them dropt. In the meantime also the enemy is not idle, for having possessed themselves of St. John's Church, they gott up to the top of the steple (though two of the lofts and the turning stairs were pulled down) from thence as from a regular platform playd both their small shott and a small gun from the top and middle part of the steeple, which did us some little annoyance, and hindered our walking in some streets or places of the city which it did command.

Sept. 21st. But Sunday, September 21, 1645, to all outward appearance both side within and without lay quiet, not a shott made on either part, for as the proverb sayeth after a calm comes a storm, and after a drought a dashing shour, for on the day following then began the work.

[A different hand] They on the one side seeke for entrance, we on the other desire a salley, but neither is granted, the key of the gate is wanting—foure hourse have our desires charged each other till at the last (though too late God knows) we are resolved of a sally, to serjants with either two files of men have the forlorne, Capt. Morgan and Cap. Bennett are to second them with either fifty and a reserve stands redy upon occasion, the service is very hot and the enemy in much more readiness then was expected. Three of our men are slain and three more shot besides Capt. Adlington, who, standing on the wall to behold the skirmish, was shot through the crown of his hat without doing him any harm at all. As for the enemy, report speaks them great losses yet we being at last outmastered by a multitude are forced to retreat. By this time the enemy have drawn their garrisons the whole strength of the country is commanded hitherward, nay, they got so far yt the souldiers wives are likewise in readiness for conveyance of the plunder.

One Major, one Ensign, and fifteen prisoners they possess themselves of, and now it is drawing towards night, one of Capt. Gymbott's men is brought in prisoner by our horse, our guards are doubled and the whole city big with expectation of

a sudden storm, stand armed for a brave resistance, but in the mean tyme to keep us doing two men are this night appointed to fire the suburbs and they play their part so well that had the enemy come on, we might have seen to fight by the very ruine of their possessions : this falling out so well there is scarce a night but some house or other smokes for it untill one half of our lost suburbs are consumed.

Sunday, the 21st, both sides ly quiet.

Munday, September 22, 1645, the East side of our walles neere to the new gate receive a visit from there artillery, beginning about twelve of the clocke and continued till four —thirty-two shots are made and by them a breach at which ten men abreast may enter. Two of our men are slain endeavouring with beds and woolpacks to make good the breach with several others hurt, and now by this time great preparation is made for entrance, and indeed to possess their men with more than ordinary spirits aqua vite and gunpowder is given them to drink, and the lives and fortunes of the destined citizens freely left to there disposal.

And now it being about eight a clocke at night and fair moon shine, we perceive two bodies of an army advance towards us, the one of which attempts to skale upon the east between the Sadler's tower and the Eastgate, where they were flanked by the said towers and beaten off with much losse, by which tyme their other friends have played their part so well that the breach is entred, our men beat backe, but by the courage of the Chirk Castle troope, which lighting from their saddles with sword and pistol regained what the enemy had won, who reattempt the passage, but were reinforct to a retreat and at last into disorder.

The defendents here were Capt. Throppe and Lieut. Kinge, with there companies, but indeed Capt. Crosby with his troupe deserves remembrance, who having charge of the horse guard, behaved himself so bravely that some of our bouldest enemies took their death upon, he was a souldier—his lieut$^{t}$ and one man was all our losse, the enemy know best their own losses —yet we know something, for besides what was slaine within the city, upon there entry, an aqua-vita souldier chancing to fall our prisoner confest their dead lay very thick where he was taken.

23rd. By this tyme the King was informed with our condition, who waveing all other undertakings advanced hither in hope to help us, his army consisting of nobility and there attendants to the number of about 6,000 marched into Cheshire, while the King with a small guard came into the City where he lay all night.

1645. The next day being Wednesday, Gen. Poynes with his army shew themselves, and like bould traytors face the King's army, who, when they parted with the King marched over Holt Bridge, and go towards Routon Heath, where the enemy give them battle, but have the worst and suffer a great slaughter; but night approaching, the enemy from the suburbs draw forth, fresh foot and horse, the which by lyneing of the hedges gauled our horse, and drove them into disorder, and indeed in the end force fortune into treason, who was hitherto loyall, for the scene is changed, our acts goe backward, and this tragick comedy is merely tragicall, many a gallant lyes could and bloodless. Amongst others the Earle of Litchfield, the King's neere kinsman lost his life and with him the day is lost, our army routed, and we left hopeless of the least reliefe.

The sad disaster of this day the King (good man) beholds from the Phœnix tower, from whence he removed to St. Werburgh's steeple, where as he was talking with a captaine, a bullet from St. John's gave him a salute, narrowly missing the King, hit the said Captaine in the head, who died in the place.

Sept. 25th. This sorry entertainment forced the King next day to leave us, and secure himself elsewhere. Yet I must not forget some passages which were acted by him during his progress here. This morning before his departure he called the Maior and cittizens together where he kept his court, to whom he tould his condition, promising what ayde he could possible for our relief, the which if he did not within such a tyme desires us to make the best conditions of surrender we could, absolving us from all those oathes and protestations which were taken by us, for the maintaineing of his cause, and so bid the city *adue*, who in his departure was heard often to say, O Lord, O Lord, what have I done that it should cause my people to deal thus with me, a pitiful complaint that a faultlesse king should thus bewail the open rebellions of his people, but it is no wonder, seeing it is the fortune of good kings to have the worst of subjects.

Sept. 26th. Friday following, they tell us of our losses, and if we will deliver up the town, proclaime fair quarter and use such other spetious termes as were able to move unsettled resolutions into a fond acceptance, but here they meet with men like mountains, as immovable as earth.

Sept. 27th. For a Sabbath preparation they lett fly fourteen of their great shott at the Eastgate—they imployed these to work a reformation upon it and bring it low and uniform with her neighbour walls, but to small purpose, for tho they slew one for his too high aspiring, yet they cannot beat her into humility.

On Sunday they startled our devotions with their
28th. continual vollyes, disturbing those whom they saw about to go to the house of God, sending in their messengers of mortality through the windows as it were to forbid them the use of that place, but belike their aime is to drive out the service book which makes them handle the church so roughly, which otherwise should be a sanctuary to all that fly unto it.

29th. Our next day's intelligence presents us with a myne, which threatens our belief with the blowing up of ye walls. To prevent which we countermyne for severall days together, and like moles advance to meet their myners. But all this while we heare nothing because the spirits are above ground as we perceive by there extraordinary chideing, which prattling was continued for the space of four or five day, till they almost chide us out of patience, in so much that our very women possess the lyne and in behalf of the men accept of the encounter. But it seems all this while there tongues were combating, there hands were not idle, they being busied about a preparation for a second battery the place is already fancied and at last resolved of. But when the head is made, they find a tower will be their annoyance, and like a flanker garde there entrance. Therefore its ruine must be y^e^ prologue to this tragedy, which they suddenly intend to act.

4th. To this purpose twenty-four great shott are forthwith made, these route the very battlements and disperse each stone we know not where, our gun standing there chides them twice or thrice for their uncivill usage, but she is suddenly silenced and dismounted by a 30lb. ball shot from the mouth of a devouring cannon, but the breach is again made up by the diligent townsmen, which they perceiving, cease their battery, lying still for a day or two, all which tyme we were not idle within the city, for perceiving their intentions we fortified our walls by lineing them with earth that they might be the better able to resist y^e^ malice of their guns.

7th. By this all things are ripe for action, four pieces of ordinance placed by the enemy near Morgan's Mount with open mouths threaten the walls on the north lyne. Two others on the same score appear in face of the walls upon the east side—a seventh stands upon the Welch side on Brewers Hall hill, which is destined for a flanker, that if in case a breach were made by those four promising undertakers they might from thence force our men from of the lyne and so secure there entrance. Then came the summons, October 8th. [See p. 128].

My Lord being in part surprised with the suddennesse of there action and finding the enemy more readier to assault then the soldiers to defend by reason of their ever toyling and con-

1645. stant duty and partly by reason the weakness of that part of the walls where he imagined they would make their battery, these things considered made him the willinglyer to enter into a treaty purposely to protract and delay the tyme that the wearied might be refreshed. Therefore he sent answer, October 8th [p. 128].

Having received this answer, they send us a copy of a former summons pretended to be sent, which we deny to be received.

We are now sufficiently satisfied of their intentions and therefore begin to fit ourselves against a threatened storm, lyneing the walls with earthe, making blindes for security of our men, and placeing of our soldiers in the most convenient places. But the perfidious enemy, like dum dogs which bite before they bark, in tyme of the parle and intercourse of letters, contrary to promise from Brewer's Hall let fly there canon, which passed all our people without any hurte, only rooted up an old tree . . . .

Our ends are discovered, yet what we wanted of finishing the night helped out, in which both gentle and simple, one and others were set on work.

Another letter, October 9th [see p. 129] was responded to by a messenger with final answer, October 9th [see p. 129].

This being no sooner understood, 357 of their tennis balls are cast against our battlements. This was an unaccustomed play with our citizens, yet there losse was not great. By this tyme it drawing towards night, each officer was commanded to his charge, Lt. Coll. Vaine, Capt. Githins, Capt. Norrice and Lt. Lane, are appointed with the companies to defend the north lyne with the breach—Capt. Henry Lloyd and Lt. King are set in the New Tower to flank them in their passage—Capt. Golborne and Capt. Price with their companies are as reliefe for the first occasion. The Artillery give the signals token for a hideous storm. Two hours lasted this conflict, where my Lord St. Paule (almost as naked as his sword) ran rageinge in his shirt, up to the North Breach, where the enemy prest extreamely for an entrance, but were by him so bravely back't that sudden death denyes them tyme to call for quarter. Others who escaped the like condition were glad to use their heels.

Upon the east lyne between Newgate and the Eastgate they made a rag-shure in the wall, but finding it too difficult a place to skale, performed that task near the Sadler's Tower, where they find but little better entertainment then their fellows did elsewhere. Our losses this day will amount to no great sume, those of note were Sir Will Mainwareing, Capt. Adlington, with about six or eight common soldiers, and as many women as neare as can be guessed. Neither had our losses been so

645. much, had not that devouring gun placed on the Welsh side (which overtopped our battlements and flanked our lines) taken us in our backe when our thought were least in danger. As for the enemy, the gardens in the suburbs were filled with their carkases. It was a hundred for one of ours.

ct. 10th. By this tyme our women are all on fire, striving through a gallant emulation to outdoe our men and will make good our yielding walls or loose their lives. Seven are shot and three slain, yet they scorn to leave their undertaking and thus they continue for ten day's space.

Our ladies likewise like so many exemplary goddesses create a matchless forwardness in ye meaner sort by there durtye undertakings.

But during this defensive feminine war, our masculine spirits are not altogether idle for on Wensday, October 15th, Capt. Dutton and Capt. Crosby fall upon the enemy's quarters at Eccleston, slew a cornet with about twenty or thirty of their foot. They bring in Capt. Carter's Lieut. and four troopers prisoners together with his trumpet and colours. The enemy much vext at this (and considering how much their men upon the Welsh side were subject to the danger of a sally) at last

ct. 18th. have found out (as they think) an antidote against this poison, and this is done by a bridge of boats which they have now made, so that they may cross the river upon all occasions and relieve their men as they see cause, but for all their cunning, one of their men is taken heere this very day and hanged up for a runaway.

Upon Monday, October 21st one of our men is slaine and the day following one more, and now are all things quiet for three days. Nothing done except some few shot exchanged on both sides.

ct. 24th. But it seems they are projecting a new plot. Dee Milnes must down and that suddenly. To this end thirteen great shot are forthwith made which do little hurt save the cutting off of two of our men.

And now a long boat comes up the water and salutes us with two peice of canon, and the night following, with three more, for since they can do no good by land, they will at least make us laugh by sea and smile to see their folly. . . . .

ct. 25th. At last their itching brains are tickled with a new devise, and their zeal is inflamed to fire us out. Yet there is one thing wanting. There stands a tower upon the bridge which, by the help of diverse leaden vaynes conveys more than necessary water to each member of the citye's body, and now this tower must down, or els tis oddes the fire will out. Two great guns are straightway ready, and seventeen huge balls directed hither. But

1645. before, a gorstack is fired which inflames two houses adjoining, but our men like so many salamanders seem to take it up, for otherwise we scarce know how it was so suddenly extinguished. Night drawing on they ease their battery, till next morning, being Sunday, they make sixteen shots more at the forsaid Water Tower, by which they make a breach, doing some little harm in the cutting asunder of our waterpipes, which we again shortly make good.

This night likewise the Milles received some harme by three of their Artillery, one thereof took away ye Milner's legge, of which he after died. But this is nothing to their masterpiece. A great granado guarded with four light matches slept in a wooden bason, comes down the water, and is designed to fire the mills, but being discovered by the sentinells was stifled in the water before its time of execution.

The next day, Monday, a third visitation is performed to the tower by two of their canons, and the day following the like imployment is undertaken by two more—therefore breach wider.

Oct. 29th. Our watchful governor not willing to let slip an occasion for a sally, is now possessed with the enemy's security upon the Welsh side, nor can he want willing undertakers.

At last Capt. Crosby with his troop and Capt. Morgell with sixteen musqueteers are designed for the service. They advance. He watches to prevent surprisal, as well as to behold the skirmish—wisely, for the enemy have left their severall quarters, and made a head too great for our body to encounter, and our city sharers [suburbians] are likewise in a readiness to bafle our retreat into disorder, but our Governor discovers this, and recommands our almost ingaged forces to an honourable return, which they do, after the interchange of a few shots.

Oct. 30th. At last the enemy have got bowes and arrows and send us diverse love letters, stuff full of such fair promises as they think will ravish our resolves into a tame submission—we send back their shafts with an answer made of wildfire—that they might see by their houses how hot our love was to them, for they flamed extremely.

The next day likewise another house in St. John's lane is all on fire, which they strive to quench, but such a thunder from our walls attends that lightning that the attempt is dangerous to all.

Nov. 1st. Saturday night one sergeant, one drum, and a private soldier gave us the slip and under pretence of fetching fuel run to ye enemy. We let them down by ropes in their hands to do themselves and us a pleasure, and are gone with orders to our disordered neighbours, till at the last a new word is given forth,

45. ye lyne is very strictly manned in continued rounds we pass away the night till we have day enough to see there is no danger.

ov. 2nd. At 8 p.m. they knocke at the Eastgate with three balls from their artillery and at the Bridge two more.

ov. 3rd. We are now at last juggled into a belief of aid at hand, and the rather possessed with this credulity by reason that the enemy in great disorder draw out of Wales, and as we think are routed whereupon my Lord St. Paul salleys with a party of horse and foot, Lieut. Harrison hath the vann, and advance behind the River unto the Welsh side where the enemy lay. He charges on—the enemy run—he follows till at the last he is presented with the body of an approaching army. 200 fresh foot now conqure with our party to draw up in a body to face the enemy, which they perceiving, send us two piece of canon, and these are doubled six times over, during the skirmish. The enemy outman us with their multitudes, yet after a long encounter our retreat is honourable, having no more harm done save two slain and three shot. The enemy lost thirty at the least, besides five prisoners. Our reserve of foot consisted most of Welshmen commanded by Col. Roger Mostyn and his officers leave their commendacon to the enemy, whose blood proclaims them gallant.

ov. 4th. Some of Coll. Egerton's snapes up one of their sutlers who had bin bringing strong water to some of their by guards, what money he received souldiers know best, for they drank the King's health with it.

ov. 5th. Wednesday is spent in prayer and thanksgiving. The night approaching our annual fires proclaim us protestants and hush their slanders into mere derision. Six of their guns are shot either to mock our joyes or else to tell us that they had this day found a president for Treason, worth their imitation.

ov. 7th. Lieut. Morgell is slain upon his guard neare the Newgate, and the day following Mr. Richardson, the Sheriff of our city is likewise shot dead and buried the next day with much lamentation.

ov. 10th. By this time they have unmusled death and sweare theyle let him loose amongst us, a wide mouth'd morterpiece in which like the mouth of Etna spitts little mountaines in our faces and grinds our dwellings into dust and ashes, three of these bombards or huge stones light amongst us, and the day following three more, the uncapt houses crouch from feare, and beg forbearance on their bended knees, but it seems these but forerun a greater judgment. Two great granadoes are by this time mounted, one of which being filled too full of spirit becomes its own executioner, by pursting [bursting] in the aire, the other

1645. lights in a backside without doing any harme at all. This same day likewise a party of our horse and foot advanced beyond the water and after a light skirmish return in safety, taking a cornett prisoner together with his horse and armes.

Nov. 12th. But all this while our women like soe many she astronomers have so glewed their eyes to heaven in expectation of a second thunder that they cannot easily be got to bed lest they dream of a granado, and indeed, not without cause, for the very next night they toss us three granadoes and one huge stone, but they do no harm at all to maintaine that miracles have a being.

They are quiet now till Sunday (November 15th) and then they at night shoot six of their canons, three at the Bridge, and three at the Eastgate, to put us in minde that they want nothing to compleat their devilish undertakings in spite of opposition. But yet they are willing to remember mercy and would fayne have the city delivered, because otherwise they see they are not to have it and therefore for three days space they attempt all fair means to robb us of our loyalty, which we so long have kept spotless, but finding their endeavours fruitless, and our honourable Governor stiff in the negative they are pleased at last to present us with another summons, November 19th [see p. 141]. A reply was sent the same day [see p. 141].

Our enemyes being something nettled with this unexpected answer (presuming of nothing else then a tame surrender) burst forth into a threatening replication [see p. 142].

Nov. 20th. Levi Dodde is slaine through a loophole upon his guard and the day following some of our horse sallying forth, are faced and shot at by two pieces of canon at their return, but receive no harme.

Nov. 23rd. Capt. Ffoulkes is slane, and y^e^ same day some of the enimyes horse draw forth to face our foot, but being something too bould, a Lieut. of horse in Coll. Boyer's reg^t^ is shot, then taken prisoner, his horse and armes likewise, but next day he died.

Nov. 25th. Their bridg of boates we find very prejudiciall to all our designs and very behoofeful to them in the suddaine transformation of their soldiers upon all occasions. Our aim is therefore now to fire it, and so prohibite their excursions. The imployment is undertaken. Two boats well furnisht with all necessary combustibles attend the cominge of our engineer, whilst my Lord St. Paule, Col. Egerton, Capt. Crosby and Capt. Dutton with their troopes together with 100 foot are appointed to encounter such oppositions as the enemy might possibly make to hinder our designe; the forlorn hope of horse is commanded by Capt. Dutton and that of foote by Capt. Bent, and by this time it being a great spring tyde and the flood advancing, our boats

1645. set forward, having within them divers chambers charged with small shot to annoy the enemy, if in case they should approach; but the tyde being something slower than we expected, and too far spent for our purpose, the boates tire by the way, and come short of execution, fireing themselves (as it were for anger) that too tame a flood denyed their purpose, and crost their resolution. Yet notwithstanding our horse and foot advance and skirmish with the enemy till they force them into a work of theirs made in the fashion of a halfe moon, which both secured their Bridge and warranted reliefe from the danger of our shot, our commanders perceiving this, retreat with the losse of two men slane and about six shott, of which some after dyed.

Nov. 27th. They sent us two Welsh granadoes and beat downe the end of a house in Eastgate Street without doing any further harm. The next day they shott a woman that shee dyed.

Nov. 30th. Spend in making loopholes through every ditch which they think fitt, that lyneing them they may contract our sallies into a less compasse and secure themselves by a safe retreat from one hedge to another if in case they were out-maister'd.

Dec. 2nd. Now they think they are secure and show themselves all day to invite us forth, but no one stirs till next day Cornet Kircome sallyes forth with twenty horse, whilst some of our mount men lyne the hedges to secure him from a pursuite. This being done, the cornet scarce advanceth twenty score before he meets with two of their troops designed to secure a pass which lead to their head quarters, being then at Dodleston. The enemy perceiving the thinness of our party, without any stay at all galloppes destruction, much like the head of a great flood that denyes all opposition through a prevailing violence—so these men post a pursuit, whilst we retreat and proclaim ruin in a full career, till at last their violence is bounded by our Ambuscado, and if I say routed into a retirement, it would be justified, our horse taking this advantage charge very hotly in their rear, and as far as they well durst pursue them.

The enemy by this time rally, and to redeem their credit advance again, face our horse, till at last our fort hath made a great gun ready to bid them welcome, this is no sooner fired, but streight like a flocke of shot at foule, they route themselves and are again pursued with an execusion in the reare, yet only one is apprehended, the rest to escape bonds take blows and thanke God they were so ride from our hands.

Dec. 4th. Things so rested for a while, yet the enemy is busy making
Dec. 7th. trenches either to scould or fight. Our horse goes therefore forth and put their patience into a new posture, by a sudden and unexpected onsett. But taking two troopers by the way and killing of another, we countermarch to towne again without further execution.

1645. Dec. 8th. Monday. They are become nearer neighbours than we expected and have possessed themselves of a brick house neer adjoyning to the east side of our walls, so that now we stir not without some danger of their watchful marksmen.

The next day therefore we have prepared a canon to visit their new possessed dwelling, and if it can to persuade them forth, which was soon done. For our gun noe sooner spoke the word, but with all speed they leave both it and such provision as they had, to be possessed by our soldiers, who are by this time firing in their reare, whilst others make a shift to pull down and fire the nest, though the birds were flown—and then return in safe without any harm at all. But during this a citizen mindeing to behold the sport, received a bullet in his face for his presumptious looking over the wall, of which he died in y^e^ place.

But the enemy much vext at this, and seeing themselves so hardly used to be turned out of house and harbour, by way of retaliation send us four granadoes, and at night five more. But by these we are more feared then hurt, for no harm is by them done at all.

Dec. 10th. But it seems they will not leave us, soe they are resolved (if it be possible) to conjure heaven and earth to conspire with them for our destruction. Eleven huge granadoes like so many tumbling demy-phaetons threaten to set the city, if not the world on fire. This was a terrible night endeed, our houses like so many splitt vessels crash their supporters and burst themselves in sunder through the very violence of these descending firebrands. The Talbott, an house adjoyning to the Eastgate flames outright; our hands are busied in quenching this whilst the law of nature bids us leave and seek our own security. Being thus distracted another Thunder-cracke invites our eyes to the most miserable spectacle that spite could possibly present us with—two houses in the Watergate skippes joynt from joynt and creates an earthquake, the main posts josell each other, whilst the frighted casements fly for feare, in a word the whole fabrick is a perfect chaos lively set forth in this metamorphosis. The grandmother, mother and three children are struck stark dead and buried in the ruins of this humble edifice, a sepulcher well worth the enemye's remembrance.

But for all this they are not satisfied, women and children have not blood enough to quench their fury, and therefore about midnight they shoot seven more in hope of greater execution, one of these last light in an old man's bedchamber, almost dead with age, and send him some few dayes sooner to his grave then perhaps was given him.

1645. Dec. 11th. Six more break in amongst us, one of which persuade an old woman to bear the old man company to heaven, because the times were evil. Our ladyes all this while, like wise merchants, keep their sellers and will not venture forth in these tymes of danger lest they should miscarry, and indeed not without cause, for within the space of five nights following they shot twenty-nine great granadoes which break down diverse houses in the Eastgate and Watergate streets, but very few or none at all hurt.

Dec. 18th. Either there granadoes are all spent, or elles they are too costly, and therefore to kill us with less charge, they toss us three huge stones. These translate four of our citizens into runaways, who leaping over our walls are seen no more—a good riddance, it's better such rotten members were out, then in amongst us; far better to have an open foe then a treacherous freind. Well, the night following three more are shot, each one weighing four score pounds and upwards, but by theise noe hurt is done save a hole or two made in some certaine houses.

Dec. 20th. Our horses bring in three prisoners, one of them having good store of money payes us for our paynes and their safe conduct; but at night to tell us that they were displeased, ten pieces of their canon chide our walls for stickeing a surpriseall and denying of an entrance to their wearied expectations. They likewise tell us that Hereford is taken, and use this as an argument to reduce us and our resolves to a Westminster subjection, whilst we send them an answer lapt up in a defiance.

Dec. 21st. The next day, sallying forth a trooper over-runnes us (ill-lucke goe with him) and at our return another is cut in pieces by one of their canon, which they mounted on a place called the Anchorites Hill, in St. John's Churchyard, which commands our bridge and often offends our sallyes. This night likewise they shott two pieces of canon at the New gate house, being one of our cheife East-lyne guard houses, which was at the present very well lyned with men, yet their shotts goe cleane through our men and house and all, without the least hurt to any, onely the day following one was slane upon his guard and the day after that another was taken away to be a companion with him.

This night an other soldier overrunnes us and is gone to kepe his Christmas with his fellow turncoates, but we hear he dyed the next day by one of our shot, a good reward. I wish the like appointed end to all revolters.

Dec. 25th. Because it is a festivall, instead of stones they send us in a token four granadoes, one of which burst among themselves.

1645. [A different coloured ink, but same hand]:

After this the remnant of the leaguer was consumed rather in courtship than military affaires, for Sir W. Brereton and his partisans being wearned by the fugitives of the *satiques* of the siege and fearing to goe without it, never left courting the Mayor and Governor to a surrender which with some difficulty (for like yong Ladies) they seemed willing (provision growing very scant and no likely hope of succour being to be expected from y^e^ King) to entertaine provided they had honourable and souldierlike conditions granted them.

## APPENDIX II.

### Warrant of the Lord Byron to divers Magistrates of Chester, January 14, 1645-6, for obliging the inhabitants of the city to give an exact account of the Quantities of Corn and Meal remaining by them.

A copy of this warrant together with entries supplying complete lists of the householders in each ward, will be found at the British Museum in Harleian MS. 2135, fol. 98 *et seq.* The greater part of this interesting record was contributed by Mr. G. P. Gamon to the *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd series, vol. v, which should be consulted for further information. Reference has also been made to the original manuscript in the compilation of the following notes. The warrant reads thus:—

To Lieut.-col. Henry Leigh, Lieut.-col. John Robinson, Lieut.-col. Peter Griffith, Sarjeant Major Thomas Thropp, Hugh Wilbraham, esqre., Peter Leicester, esqre, Capt. Edmund Pearsall, Capt. Edw. Alcock, Capt. Richd. Malory, Mr. Ald'n Holme, senr., Mr. Ald'n Cowper, Mr. Ald'n Harvie, Mr. Humfrie Phillipps, Mr. Ald'n Holme, junr., Mr. Richard Bird and Mr. Edwd. Hulton.

In pursuance of the commission to you graunted touching the searching for and enquiring after the corne and meal in the custodie of anie person and the quantities thereof I desire that you doe punctually and with all expedition perform the same under y'r hands to-morrow by three of the clock precisely. Hereby requiring and authorising you and anie two of you to comitt to safe custodie the person or persons of anie who according to the power to you given shall refuse to take an oath for discoverie of the truth in the premises, whoe are not to be discharged without especiall order and of whom I desire lists to be sent unto me.

The service being of speciall concerne to his Majesty and the preservation of this garrison I expect a faithful proceeding and exact performance and obedience in and by all concerned. Chester, 14th January, 1645.

JOHN BYRON.

Interrogatories :

1. What corne have you in your owne house, barn or stable or in any other house, barn or stable or any place whatsoever? Declare the truth.

2. What in meal or bread, pease, beans, bran or fitches likewise in your own or any other house?

3. How many have you in family and what souldiers do you keep?

4. Do you know of anyone within this garrison that hath any store of corne threshed or unthreshed?

Officers under the various wards :—

St. Oswald's : Lieut.-col. Leigh, Major Thropp.
Northgate : Lieut.-col. Robinson, Mr. H. Phillipps.
Eastgate : Lieut.-col Griffith, Mr. Alderman Holme, junr.
St. Michael's : Mr. Leicester, Mr. Alderman Cowper.
St. Bridget's : Capt. Pearsall, Mr. Robt. Harvie.
St. Olave's : Mr. H. Wilbraham, Mr. Alderman Holme, senr.
Trinity : Capt. Alcock, Mr. Edward Hulton.
St. Martin's : Capt. Malory, Mr. Alderman Ince.

A few extracts relating to the more notable inhabitants will give a good idea of the nature of the returns, and the great scarcity of food in the city at this time.

Trinetie Warde : Januarye 5th [*sic*], 1645.

Mr. Thomas Aldersey, *just. pac.*, alderman to warde. Baron of Kinderton, 32 in fam :, 4 m. of corne.

Ensigne Wm. Johnson, 5 in fam :

Mr Richard Birde, 14 with souldiers, 6 m. of corne, 2 m. of meal.

Mr. Edward Hulton, 9 in fam :, a captain, a leifetenante, 2 m. of corne, 4 m. of wheate, 4 m. of rye, 2 m. of meale.

Mr. Thomas Mottershed, 10 in fam :, 2 m. of corne.

Captain Gyles, 9 in famelye.

Parson Wilson [rector of Trinity], 4 in fam :, 2 m. of wheate and beanes.

Constables in this warde :

George Starkye, 10 in fam :, 3 souldiers, 4 m. meale.

Edward Eaton, 4 in fam :, ½ m. meale.

Thomas Williams, 5 in fam :, 2 souldiers, 1 m. meal, 1 m. corne.

St. Martin's Warde.

Mr. Henry Benit, 1 m. of mashe.

Mr. Brian Pressious, 3 in fam., 2 soldiers, 2 m. wheate and rye, 3 pecks wheate, ½ m beanes.

Mr. Chansler [Chancellor] 12 in fam., 3 pecks corne.
Mr. Higginsan, 6 in fam., 5 soldiers, 1 m. wheate, 2 m. beanes
Sir Thomas Smith, 17 in fam., 6 soldiers, 4 m. corne.
Captane Hourlston, 14 in fam., 2 soldiers, 4 m. corne.
Mr. Johnson, minister, 4 in fam., ½ m. corne.
Mr. Harvy, 10 in fam., 2 soldiers, 2 m. wheate and rye, ½ m. beanes.
Sir Hugh Cauvely, 13 in fam., 4 soldiers, no corne.
Mr. William Ince, 2 in fam., 3 soldiers, 4 m. wheate, 2 m. rye.
Mr. Owen Hughes, 8 in fam., 2 soldiers, noe corne.
Sherrife Tattnall, 8 in fam., 2 soldiers, noe corne.
My Lord Kilmory, 16 in fam., 4 soldiers, noe corne.
Mrs. Edwards, 5 in fam., and Sir E. Edward Varnall [Verney] and his man, 5 m. wheate and rye, 1½ m. beanes and fiches.
Mr. John Johnson, 4 in fam., 4 soldiers, 3 m. corne.

St. Oswald's Ward.

Mr. James Greatbache, 3 qr. meale [? in family, 12] and 4 souldiers.
Mr. Wm. Tayler, 2 m. corne, 1 m. meale, 2 fam., 6 . . . .
Mr. Wm. Bennett, 3 m. rye and wheate, 1 m. meale, in familie 15, besydes what is given to souldiers and poore.
Widow Salusburie, 3 m. corne or thereabouts, of meale 3 m., in family, 13. Mr. Elias and his family 8, of bread as much as will [keep] her family a week.
Mr. Tho : Watt, 6 m. meale, wheat and rye, 1 m. wheate, 3 m. barley and beanes, 8 in famelye, 1 souldier.
Mrs. Burrowes and her sonne, 1 m. and half wheat, 1½ m. meale, 9 in fam.
Mr. Bridges, 1 m. of rye, 17 in fam.
Mr. Geo. Bennett, 3 m. barley and beanes, 5 fam., 1 souldier.
Mr. Gwynne, 1 m. meale, 2 in fam.
Mrs. Prichard, 2 m. meale, 7 in fam.
Mrs. Bennett, 1½ m. wheat and rye, 1 m. meale, 7 in fam.
Mr. Warburton, 4 m. corne, 3 m. meale, 17 in fam.
Thos. Throppe, 1 m. meale, 3 in fam., 3 souldiers.
Peregrine Leighton, 5 loafes bread, ½ m. barley, 5 in fam.
In the Bishop's Kitchen, 24 in famelye, noe corne.
Mr Sudden, 12 in fam., 3 m. meale.
Mr. Packe, 5 in fam., 3 peckes corne.
Mr. Tilston, 3 in fam., 1 souldier, 1 pecke corne.
Mrs. Bispham, 3 in fam., 1 souldier, 2 peckes meale.
119 m. of corne in the whole warde whereof 20 m. already

given to Richard Deane, Baker, soe rests 99 m. to be distributed as infra :

Col. Wynne

| | |
|---|---|
| Hugh Croupe<br>Randall Dod<br>Richard Deane | for 21 m. |
| Thomas Throppe | for 27 m. |
| Rich : Hickoke | for 5 m. |
| Widow Kinge<br>William Kinge | for 26 m. |

Col. Mostin.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ralph Lee<br>Thomas Lee | for 25 m. |
| Richard Walton<br>Raph Moss | for 15 m. |

119 m.

St. Bridget's Warde : January Vth [*sic*], 1645.

Mr. Aynsworth, none, 7 in fam.

Mr. Cowper, 5 m. and a peck of corne, 9 in fam., 2 lieftenants.

Mres. Harvey, 8 in fam., 2 m. corn.

In Mr. Tho : Savage's house, 18 persons and no prov.

Mres. Jones hath a grenadizier and ½ m. corne.

Hugh Crumpe, 8 in fam. and a trooper, and no corne.

There are six families in the almeshouses, No provn.

Mr. Weldes, 10 in fam., 4 soldiers. No corne.

Mr. Charles Jones, 2 in fam. No corne.

Mres. Singleton, 11 in fam. No provn.

Captain Saers, v. in fam. No corne.

Mr. Wm. Jones, 6 in fam., 5 soldiers. 40 course beans, scarce fit to be used [16d. a measure].

Mr. Wm. Drinkwater, 14 in fam., 6 soldiers, 4 m. of corne.

In Widdow Bolland's house, 29 persons and no corne.

Mr. Edward Williams, 8 in fam., besides soldiers, 2 m. of corne.

Mr. ffreckelton, 6 in fam. No corne.

Mr. Buckeley, 4 in fam. ½ m. of corne.

Eastgate Ward.

In the Eastgate ward there is about 160 od familys in wh : there is about 900 persons or thereabouts besydes 150 souldiers or thereabouts of wh : familys there is about 100 familys that have noe corne and the corne that is, is about 112 measures.

Mr. Blease, 6 in fam., 5 souldiers, 8 m. corne.

Mr. Will : Benet, 11 in fam., 4 souldiers, 4 m. corne.
Sr. Tho : Dellves, 6 in fam., 3 souldiers, 3½ m. corne.
Mr. Joseph Bruen, 6 in fam., 2 souldiers, 2 m. corne.
Thomas Parnell, 8 in fam., 2 souldiers, 1 m. corne, 2 m. meale.
Mrs. Poole, 6 in fam., ½ m. corne.
Mr. Edward Aldersey, 6 in fam., 1 souldier, 2 m. corne.
Mr. Tho : Aldersey, 3 in fam., 1 souldier, 2 m. corne.
Mr. Tho : Wright, 6 in fam. ; 2 souldiers, 1 m. corne.
Alderman Aldersey, 10 in fam., 4 souldiers, 6 m. corne.
Mr. Rich : Littler, 15 in fam.
Widd. Cowper, 18 in fam., 2 souldiers, 3 m. corne.
Colonell Wayt, 5 in fam., 1 m. corne.
Mrs. ffittonn, 6 in fam.
Mrs. Wall and Mr. ffittonn, 6 in fam., 1 m. corne.
Mrs. Owens, 2 in fam., 1 souldier.
Mrs. Morgell, 7 in fam.
Mrs. Ince, 3 in fam., 2 m. meale.
Mrs. Ratcliffe, 2 in fam., 3 souldiers, 2 m. meale.
Mr. Mastersonn, 5 in fam.
Lady Barlo, 5 in fam.
Captinne Persall, 3 in fam.
Mr. John Aldersey, 3 in fam., 3 souldiers, 4 m. corne
Mrs. Crosse, 16 in fam., 4 souldiers, 6 m. corne.

NORTHGATE WARDE.

Lord Cholmondeley, 22 in fam., 7 bushels barlie, 25 m. oates, 2 bushels beanes.

Nicholas Ince, Alderman, 7 in fam., Captain Chambers and Mr. Curvin, and there men, 6 bus. rye and wheate [Inquire of Mr. Ince for his beanes : *another return*].

In the house next to his 19 subberd [suburb] people, 3 soldiers.

Sir Wm. Massie, 10 in fam.
Mr. Henry Bridgman [the Dean] 4 in fam., 1 m wheate.
Mr. Thomas Humphrey, 15 in fam., 10 b : rye.
Mr. Starkey Burrowes.

Mrs. Richardson, 6 in fam., Capt. Mosten, an ancient [i.e., an ensign] and 2 men, 2 b : of blent [mixed] corne.

Widow Ince, 3 in fam., a Qutr : Master, an ancient.
William Street, 5 in fam., Capt. Whitmore, 4 b. blent corne.
Grace Richardson, 3 in fam., 10 subberd people, 1 soldier.
Thomas Bennett, 3 in fam., 14 subberd men and women
Widow Crichley, 8 in fam., Major Lord, 2 b : of wheate.
Mrs. Gibson, 4 in fam.
Mrs. Mallorie, 8 in fam., 9 subberd people.
Mr. Clarke, Mr. Beedle, Mr. Charles Johnes.

Mr. Bartley's house, 14 subberd people.

Then follow lists of inhabitants in Barnelane, Parson Lane, and In the Croffts.

ST. MICHAEL'S WARDE.

Mr. Watson, 6 in fam., 1 m. corne .

Inmate at Williamsons hath nothinge, wch desyreth a passe to ye out towne.

Mr. Leigh, 7 in fam., 2½ m. corne.

Sir Richard Grosvenor, 21 in fam., 18 m. weate and mele.

Mr. Gerrad Jones, 9 in fam. L[t.]Col : and man :, 1 m. 3 pecks corne.

Mr. James Bad, 2 in fam., 2 soldiers, 2 pecks corne.

Randle Minshull, 6 in fam., 1½ m. corne and bread.

Mrs. Bannir, 10 in fam., 2 m. corne.

Arthur Wally, 5 in fam., 3 m. corne and meale, 1 captaine, 3 soldiers.

Mr. Wm. Parnell, 5 in fam., 1 captaine, 3 soldiers, 3 m. corne and meale.

Major Thorpe [Throppe], 12 in fam., no soldiers, 20 m. corne and meale.

A summary of the returns is appended in which the amounts are given in terms of one unit, the measure or bushell. The number of inhabitants in Northgate Ward has been estimated from the number of householders, on the basis of the returns in the other wards, the number in family being rarely stated. Unfortunately there is no record of the returns from St. Olave's ward, which was always thickly populated, but assuming that it contained only 700 civilians, the total number in the city at the end of the siege, exclusive of the soldiery, must have been at least 5,000. Probably no account was taken of the very poor, and if the statement is correct, that the fighting force at this time numbered 3,000, the besieged must have numbered between eight and nine thousand souls. Brereton had a force of 7,100 arrayed against the city with its 3,000 defenders.

| WARD. | House holders | No. in Families | Officers billeted | Soldiers billeted | Corn | Meal | Wheat | Rye | Oats | Barley | Beans | Peas | Malt | Bread | Fitches |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St. Oswald's | 105 | 644 | — | 73 | 25½ | 104 | 20½ | 46½ | — | 5½ | 12¾ | — | — | 24 loaves ½ measure | — |
| Northgate ... | 128 | 700 (appr.) | 7 | 10 and others | 7 | — | 33½ | 14½ | 25 | 7 | 5 | — | — | — | — |
| "Subberds" | — | 81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Eastgate ... | 160 | 900 | 1 | 151 | 114 | 12 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| St. Michael's | 66 | 285 | 3 | 35 | 29⅞ | 26¾ | 4 | 1 | — | ¼ | — | 2 | — | 5 measures | — |
| St. Bridget's | 70 | 463 and others | 3 | 19 and others | 31¾ | 17½ and more | — | — | — | — | 40 | — | — | — | — |
| Trinity ... | 139 | 674 | 6 | 25 and others | 44⅞ | 38¼ | 20 | 13½ | — | 2 | 7⅜ | — | 11 | — | ¼ |
| St. Martin's... | 106 | 521 | 2 | 63 | 34 | — | 17¾ | 13 | — | 3 | 8¼ | — | — | — | 1½ |
| Totals ... | 774 | 4268 and others | 22 | 376 and others | 287 | 198½ | 95¾ | 88½ | 25 | 17¾ | 73⅜ | 2 | 11 | 24 loaves 5½ measurss | 1¾ |

## APPENDIX III.

### Parochial Register Extracts.

ST. OSWALD'S, CHESTER.

(From the Earwaker Collection in the Library of the Chester Archæological Society).

1642.

Gregorie, the sonn of Captin Gregorie Crumwell, baptized the 29th of September.

Tho : fray, a poor boy came from Irland buried the first Aprile.

the ladie Jane More, daughter to the lorde More, dwelling in Irland, buried the 21th of May.

John Hill, soldier under Captine Prestwitch [buried] the 23th of februarie.

1643.

Byron bradshaw, the sonn of Mr. Richard Bradshaw, baptiz. the 24th of Aprile.

Chiros [?] the sonn of Captin Cromwell baptiz. the 17th of November.

Christian, the daughter of Captin William Longe, baptiz. the 22th of March.

francis the sonn of Sr Edwarde Boulton, of Dublin, buried ye 18th of Aprile.

Captin Conie buried the 29th of Aprile.

John Bithell a soldiere buried the 23th of June.

Randle Done, a soldiere buried the seconde of september.

John Duncalfe, a soldier under Captain Leighe, buried the 18th of November.

George fossill a soldier under Captin Collins, buried the 10th December.

Gabriell [*sic*] a soldier buried the 16th of December.

Richard Hellie, a soldier buried the 16th of februarie.

Captin Edwarde Dodd, buried, the 27th of februarie.

Jeffrey Crocson, of Manchester, gentleman, buried the 15 of March.

Henry Anderson, a trooper buried the 22th of March.

1644.

John, the sonn of John Graye a souldier, bapt. the 30th of Aprile.

Robarte, the sonn of Maior Morrisse baptiz. the 5th of June.

febe the doughter of William Warburton a soldier bapt. the 21th of Dec.

John, the sonn of Dockter Legerdus, baptiz. the 8th of Januarie.

John the sonn of John Williams, a soldier bapt. the 17th of Januarie.

George, the sonn of James Allin a soldier bapt. the 27th of Januarie.

francis the sonn of Mr. William ffittonn baptiz. the 16th of februarie.

Charles the sonn of Henrie Leigh, of Hye leigh, esquiere, baptized the 4th of March.

Owen Gaine, a soldier under Captin Hunker, buried the 26th of March.

Mr. John Whitbie, buried the 29th of May.

William Gibbons, cornett to a troope of horse buried the 11th June.

Richard Wrighte, a soldier buried the 28th of July.

Corranall Marrow buried the 22th of August.

Captin Battie buried the 4th of September.

William Houghton a soldier buried the 4th of November.

Mr. Tho : Gibson sonn to Corranall Gibson, buried 26th of Novem.

A poore boye that died in the streete buried the 10th of Januarie.

Mr. John Stutfield buried the 8th of februarie.

Robarte Troutbacke buried the 15th of februarie

Tho : Roson a soldier buried the 3th of March.

Robarte Davie a soldier buried the 8th of March.

Robarte Warburton a soldier buried the 16th of March.

1645.

Katherin the doughter of George Warburton of Arley, esquire, baptized the 15th of Aprile.

Henrie the sonn of Edward Leigh of baggeley, esquire, baptiz. the 12th of August.

Edward the sonn of Mr. Seddon, baptiz. the 18th of October.

Robarte the sonn of Mr. George Bouth of Pulforte, baptiz. the 24th of December.

Katherin, the daughter of William Jones a soldier bapt : the 18th of Janu.

John Taylore, a soldier buried the 30th of Aprile.

Morris Brendin, a soldier buried the 10th of July.

John Lambe a soldier buried the 30th of July.

A poore Irish boye buried the 31th of July :

Thomas Brasie a soldier buried the seconde of September.

Robarte Hoolme of Tranmor buried the 23th of September.

William Walley a soldier buried the 24th of September.
George Walker a soldier buried the 24th of September.
John Penckett a soldier buried the 10th of October.
Richard Jones a soldied [*sic*] buried the 15th of October.
Captin John Adlington buried the 17th of October.
Leefftenant Edward Morgell buried the 8th of November.
Thomas Clare a trooper buried the 9th of November.
Sargante Davie francis buried the 9th of November.
Richard Skalsbricke a trooper buried the 10th of November.
Robarte Hoolme a trooper buried the 25th of November.
Mr. John Rutter, of Kinsley buried the 20th of December.
Thomas Cetle of Ouer a trooper buried the 22th of December.
George Simpson a soldier buried the 22th of December.
William Buffe, a soldiars boy buried the 7th of Januarie.
Tho. Jones a trooper buried the 12th of Januarie.
Robarte Wilkinson a trooper buried the 26th of Januarie.
Richard Done sacston buried the 4th of februarie.

1649.

Dorothie daughter of Maior Daniell buried the 10th January.

ST. MARY-ON-THE-HILL, CHESTER.

(From Earwaker's *History of St. Mary-on-the-Hill*).

1643.

Richard Morris Butcher slaine at Boughton buried in ye corner close to the Dyall post in south church yard 19th of July.

Allen Tompson a souldier wounded at boughton buried in the west corner of the south church yard neere Mr. Hunts little gate in Church yard wall 24th of July.

Griffith ap Evan a souldier buried in the west corner of the south Church yard neere Mr. Hunts little gate in the way by the wall 21th of August.

Thomas Acton servant to Sr Hugh Calveley buried in south Church yard close to the middle piller of Troutbeks Chappell 3° day of October.

John Eansworth a souldier buried in the north Church yard vnder the wall agt the middle window . . . November

Mathew Knight a souldier buried in the north Church yard vnder the wall against the midle window of the parsonage house 28th day of November.

Captaine Mathew Curson buried in St. Katherines Ile in the seate against ffranklands stone 25th day of January.

Lieftenant Christian Eares buried in same place same day.

1644.

Captaine Thomas Gamull, esqr., sonne of Colonell Sr ffrancis Gamull, Knt. and Baronett buried in the vault in St. Katherine's Ile, 12th day of June.

William fframwall slaine upon the guard buried vnder his fathers stone in the north Ile 7th day of July.

James Hallwood, gent buried in Troutbecks Chappell at side of Tyrers stones 28th day of October.

Thomas Birkened gent. buried in the south Ile vnd$^{r}$ the marble stone 14th day of November.

Raph Hollinshead gent. buried in the Crosse Ile betwixt Healds seate and the end of the longe forme 27th of November.

Mr. Robert Chapman and Mr. Thomas Dalton twoe souldiers kild on Haugh greene buried in the north Church yard in the Cornor agt Gamulls tombe 3$^{o}$ of December.

Anne daughter of Mr. Leigh of Baguley esqr. buried in the Chancell 29th day of December.

Mrs. Grace Whitmore buried in Troutbeks chappell 30th of December.

Colonell Thomas Leigh esqr. [of Adlington] was layd downe in the vestrey to be kept till he could be removed, the 8th day of January but afterwards was removed to Prestburie church. 1645.

Mr Phillip Ravenscroft [of Bretton] buried in Troutbeckes chappell vpon his Aunt Brerewood first day of May.

Bridgett wife of Robert Byron a stranger buried in the South Church yard at the east end of the Chancell the 15th day of May.

William Daye a trooper slaine in Handbridge buried in North Church yard at the way side against the north end of St. Katherines Ile 21th of May.

. . . . . daughter to Serjeant Dalton buried in the north Church yard vpon the side of the hill before ye next piller to the porch 31th day of May.

Thomas sonne of John Grey kill'd by an enemy and buried by the end of his mothers seate on the north side the middle Ile 20th day of August.

Nathaniel Williams was slaine and buried in the Church close before the south doore last of August.

Mr. Thomas sonne of Hugh Wilbraham esqr. buried in the Chancell, 23th day of September.

John Carter slaine att walls buried vnder the vppermost window of Troutbecks Chappell ag$^{t}$ the staire head in the south church yard 26th day of September.

Ellen Smith shott and killd buried vpon her mother before the south doore betwixt the backe of the lowmost seate and the staires vnder the narrow longe stone 27th of September.

Thomas Griffith shott and kil'd buried in the south Church yard at the side of the flaggs at the west end of Williams stone 4th day of October.

Henry Morris a trooper shott and kil'd buried in the west corner of the south Church yard behind the porch 5th of October.

Robert Thorneley kil'd buried in the south porch 5th of October.

Thomas Grosvenor shott and kill'd buried in the south Church yard with his head to the Church yard wall at the turninge westward from Bennett's stone the 20th day of December.

Mr Oliver Chisnall [? of Chisenhall, co. Lancs.] buried in the lower end of ye North Ile close to the north side of Johnsons stone 28th day of January.

Edward Smith of the Rocke was slaine and buried in the lower end of the south Ile at the head of Dykas his stone close to the formes 28th of January.

Randle Hunt gent buried in the Chancell before the clarks seate 9th day of ffebruary

Mr Robert Ravenscroft buried in Troutbeks chappell the 12th day of ffebruary.

Mr. Casteene servant to Sr. William Brereton buried in St. Katherines Ile in the vppermost seate 17th of ffebruary.

Captaine Henry Brereton buried in Troutbeks Chappell the 19th day of ffebruary.

Charles Worsley a souldier buried in the north Church yard vpon the corner of the hill before the porch the 23th day of ffebruary.

Margrett wife of Hugh Wilbraham, esqr. buried in the Chancell 23th day of March.

1646.

A souldier buried on the hill before the porch in the north Church yard 29th day of March.

Mr. Thomas Weston buried vnder his fathers stone in the midle Ile at the doore goeinge into ye Chancell 26th of ffebruary.

1647.

Captain Cheshire [of Halton] buried in St. Katherines Ile vnder the Lady Smiths stone 3° of October.

### Holy Trinity, Chester.

(From the *Register of the Holy and Undivided Trinity*, by Rev. L. M. Farrall, M.A.).

#### Baptisms.

1640.

5 Octob. Edmund fil. Bryan Pretious.

1641.

23 Apr. Robt. fil. Mr Willm. Ince alderman & marchant.

29 July. Susan da. to Mr Rich. Bradshaw marchant.
18 Decemb. John sonne to Sir Paul Davies.

1643.

16 Sept. Robert fil. Peter Leicester of Tabley, esqr.
14 Decemb. Robt. sonne to Mr. Steven Smyth bro. to Sr Tho.

1644.

3 Sept. Thomas & Richard sonnes to Randle Copland souldier.
6 Sept. Richard reputed sonne to Robt. Proctor a trouper.
8 Sept. Christop. sonne to Christop. Harrison cannonere or guner.
10 Sept. Ellen da. to Nicholas Quiggen a trowper.
11 Sept. John fil. Gabrell More souldier.
9 Nov. Anne dau. to Sr Phillip Byron, Knt.
28 Nov. Byron sonne to Peter Leicester of Tabley Esqr.
2 Feb. Robert fil. Robt. Sharp souldier.
15 Feb. Edward fil. Mr. Edward Morgan.

1645.

25 March. Elizabeth dau. to James Bartley carpenter & ingener.
3 Aprell. Daniel f. Captaine Daniel Bavand.
7 Aprell. Hana d. to Mr Aldrich minister.

Note in MS.—"Here wanting from this place for then the clarke was putt out of towne for delinquinsey so no more is entered till 12 March 1645—for all this tyme the city was in strait seege." Then follows a blank space and a further note: "About this tyme the clarke came agayne and writt forward."

12 March. Thomas fil. Captaine Bauand.

Note in margin of MS.: "Now all the parsons were driven out of Chester, and new lights came in so that other churches came to this p'ish to be baptized."

Burials.

1641.

Martha dau. to the Lady Loftys of Ireland 9 March.

1643.

Peter sonne to Peter Pindar customer [of Customs] 26 Aug.
Charles Yorke a souldier 9 Decemb.
Hugh Scott a souldier 13 Jan.
Richard Davis a souldier 31 Jan 1643.

1644.

William Deane Sr Gilbt. Houghtons man 17 Apr.
Richard Waterson a souldier 25 June.
Cutberd Johnson gent. & a clarke 6 July.
Henry Heskett gent. bro. to Lady Byron late wife to Sr Phillip Byron Kt bur. 27 Aug.
Thomas & Richard sonnes to Randle Copland a souldier 4 Sept.

George Needham Esqr sonne to the Lord Killmorey 28 Sept.
Edward Duckworth a souldier 15 Octob.
The Lady Byron widow late wife to Sr Phillip Byron Kt. bur. 16 Nov.
Anne dau. to Sr Phillip Byron an infant 24 Nov.
Ellen dau. to Nicho. Quiggen troup. bur. 23 Decemb.
Sara dau. to Willm. Casome souldier 30 Decemb.
Hester wife to Geo. Cotton musition 3 March.
Leonard Nickes quartermr 6 March.
Ithell Jones souldier 9 March.

1645.

Richard Hanson a clarke under Capt. Phoson 30 Apr.
Byron fil. Mr. Peter Leicester of Tabley Esqr. 17 May.
Margrett Creere slayne att muddwall with a bullet xi July.
Robert base sonne to Captaine Bordman 16 July.
"About this tyme the clarke was turned out of towne for a delinquent so nothinge is registered till the citty was yealded and then he came agayne 2 Feb."
Mr. Brian Pretious buried 4 Feb. 1645.
John Harper a souldier 6 March.
Willm. Cosman 13 March.
Mary wife to Alax. Bassnett souldier 21 March.
James Day father to Mr. Bryan Pretious wife 24 March 1645.

1646.

John fil. Jo. Loy souldier an infant 10 May.

ST. PETER'S, CHESTER.

(From the Earwaker Collection in the Library of the Chester Archæological Society).

1643.

Captain William Dutton was buried the thirtieth of Januarie, 1643.

1644.

Marry the Daughter of Mr. Thomas Parnell was baptised the nyneteenth day of May, 1644.

Jane, the Daughter of Lieuetenant Elliott was baptised the fifteenth of ffebruary, 1644.

1645.

Charles, the sonne of Capt. Edmond Dearing was baptised the last of July 1645.

ST. MICHAEL'S, CHESTER.

(From the Earwaker Collection in the Library of the Chester Archæological Society).

Burial.

1644.

October. Evanus Lewis *miles*. Sep. 10.

# APPENDIX IV.

## Miscellanea.

### Lord Byron's Commissioners.

Col. Sir Edmund Verney, Deputy Governor of Chester. Served in Flanders and Scotland; came to Chester from Ireland, whither he returned after the capitulation, and was killed at the taking of Drogheda by Cromwell in 1649. He was the third son of Sir Edmund Verney, the standard-bearer to Charles I, slain at Edgehill, 1642, and younger brother of Sir Ralph Verney, the writer of the Civil War *Memoirs*.

Lt.-col. John Robinson, formerly governor of Holt Castle. Resided at Gwersyllt ucha, co. Denbigh, and Monachdy, co Anglesey; born 1616; M.P. Beaumaris, 1661-79; died 1680, buried at Gresford; son of William Robinson, and grandson of Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor.

Lt.-col. Peter Griffith. Probably of Plas issa, Caerwys, co Flint, fined £113 for delinquency.

Thomas Cholmondeley, esq., of Vale Royal, co. Chester, died 1652-3; younger son of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley.

Lt.-col. Henry Leigh, younger brother of Col. Thomas Leigh, of Adlington, co. Chester, who died in Chester in 1644, and was afterwards taken to Prestbury to be buried.

Hugh Wilbraham, esq., of Eccleston, near Chester, and St. Andrew, Holborn, London, younger son of Thomas Wilbraham of Woodhey, esq.

Edward Moreton, of Little Moreton, co. Chester, S.T.P., LL.D., fellow of King's College, Cambridge; rector of Tattenhall and Barrow, co. Chester, and Sephton, co. Lancs., prebendary of Chester cathedral; died in 1674 aged 76. A delinquent.

Ald. Christopher Blease, of Chester, mercer, sheriff 1623, mayor 1629.

Ald. John Johnson, of Chester, ironmonger, sheriff 1642, mayor 1659.

### Sir William Brereton's Commissioners.

Col. John Boothe, afterwards knighted, and of Woodford, co. Chester, was the youngest son of Sir George Boothe of Dunham Massey, and a brother-in-law of Brereton. He died in 1688 and was buried in the south transept of the cathedral, where a mural monument is inscribed to his memory.

Col. John Bowyer, perhaps of Knipersley, co. Stafford, afterwards knighted; Will at Chester, 1667; or of that family.

Col. Chidley Coote, of Killester, near Dublin; died 1668; younger son of Sir Charles Coote of Castle Cuffe, Queen's County.

Col. John Carter; the well-known Parliamentarian adventurer; said to have been a draper in early life. He married the heiress of Kinmel, co. Denbigh, and was knighted after the Restoration; high sheriff co. Denbigh, 1665; died 1676, aged 57.

Roger Wilbraham, esq., was of Dorfold, co. Chester, and was High Sheriff of the county in 1667. His wife was a Ravenscroft of Bretton, co. Flint.

Lt.-col. Thomas Hunt, of the Longnor family, afterwards settled at Boreaton, co. Salop.

Lt.-col Robert Venables, of Chester and Wincham, 1663; son of Robert Venables of Antrobus, who died in 1643.

### Colonel John Marrow.

Col. John Marrow came to Chester with the "Irish Army" towards the end of 1643, and was instrumental in re-taking Hawarden Castle, which had been handed over to Brereton by his brother-in-law, Thomas Ravenscroft. In August, 1644, he was in command of a body of 800 horse and foot quartered in the vicinity of Tarvin. During an encounter with some Parliamentary troops near Hartford on August 18th he was shot in Sandiway by one lying under a hedge and was carried alive into Chester where he died the next day. See the entry of his burial among the extracts from the registers of St. Oswalds. His widow married secondly, Sir Thomas Powell of Birkenhead and Horsley, a prominent Royalist. For further information, including an abstract of his will, see the *Cheshire Sheaf* (3rd Series), vol. i., p. 78.

### Sir William Massey, Knt.

Sir William Massey, of Puddington, knt., a staunch Royalist, is described in his Composition Papers, 1646-7, as aged and weak, to have left his home, and settled in Chester. His house in Ledsham was made a garrison by the Parliamentarians, forty bays of buildings were burned and damaged to the extent of £1,000, "whereby the city of Chester was much straightened, and more easily reduced." Fine, at a sixth, £1,414 [*Cheshire Sheaf,* (3rd Series), vol. i., p. 114].

### Philemon Mainwaring.

Lieut. Philemon Mainwaring, the Parliamentarian, who acted as a spy in the city during the blockade, and was very con-

veniently taken prisoner for that purpose and later re-captured by his own party (see pp. 168—172) was a natural son (before wedlock) of Henry Mainwaring of Carincham (Kermincham) co. Chester, who died in 1639, and a half-brother of Col. Henry Mainwaring, of Carincham, the Parliamentarian. He was a member of the Chester Committee. He afterwards resided at Great Warford, co. Chester. Administration at Chester, 1674.

### Col. Robert Werden.

The *English Historical Review* for 1889 (vol. iv, pp. 531-2) contains an interesting account of the later career of this noted Royalist, by Sir Charles Firth, of Oxford, in which the contention of Sir Reginald Palgrave, that he was a Cromwellian spy in 1654-5 is disproved at length. (See page 9).

## ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1921.

(Omitted from Vol. xxiv., Part ii).

THE Council begs to submit its Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1921.

Sessional Meetings have been held, at which the following papers were read :—

18*th January*, 1921—Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, M.A., F.S.A.—
"The Cheshire Domesday-Roll: its nature and history."

8*th February*, 1921—(Social Evening)—Dr. J. C. Bridge, M.A., F.S.A.—
"Town Waits and their Tunes."

15*th March*, 1921—Mr. J. H. E. Bennett—
"The Grey Friars of Chester." Part III.

8*th November*, 1921—Rev. Lewis Pryce, M.A.—
"Ruthin Church Roof and its Badges."

15*th November*, 1921—(Annual General Meeting)—Rev. R. A. Thomas, O.B.E., M.A.—
"Historical Notices of Bardsey Abbey."

13*th December*, 1921—Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.—
"The Mediæval Constructional Design of Church Timber Roofs, with special reference to Cheshire and Denbigh."

The Council desire to thank the donors of gifts and various objects of interest which have been presented during the year.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts annexed shows a balance in hand of £146 11s. 9d.

At the Annual General Meeting held in 1921, the Council decided to modify the organisation of the Society to the extent of having a Chairman of Council. To this office, the highest which a member of the Society can hold by election, Mr. Henry Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., was unanimously elected. It was evident that the Society desired in this way to mark their warm appreciation of the many distinguished services which Mr. Taylor has performed for the Society in particular, and for Archæology in general.

Under Rule 4, the following Members of the Council retire but they are eligible for re-election :—Mr. J. Bairstow, J.P., F.C.S., F.I.S., Mr. J. H. E. Bennett, F.S.A., Mr. W. W. Tasker and the Rev. F. G. Wright, F.G.S., F.S.A. (Scot.).

Of the Hon. Auditors, Mr. W. Conway and Mr. F. Skipwith, J.P., who now retire, the latter will shortly leave Chester, and will not be able to serve the Society in this capacity at the next audit of Accounts. The Council desires to express warm thanks to Mr. Skipwith for this kind and valuable service. Mr. Conway is eligible for re-election.

Early in the year the Council was invited to co-operate with the local Education Authority for the City, and with the Committee of the Chester Natural Science Society, with a view to arranging for children from the elementary schools of the City a course of instruction based upon the archæological and natural history collections in the Museum. A scheme was drawn up under which both Societies appointed Mr. Alfred Newstead as their Instructor, and the classes were commenced in January, 1922.

The Historical Committee of the Council have made progress with the orderly arrangement and cataloguing of the papers of the Earwaker Collection. The work involves much labour and the Committee would welcome offers of help. Fortunately some of the work can be undertaken by helpers who have no special knowledge of deeds or valuable documents.

The uncompleted negotiations with the executors regarding the late Canon Morris's papers should be placed on record. It is a pleasure to recognise the goodwill of the executors, and while there is promise of a happy development, it would probably be wise to postpone a definite statement until later.

The Council have been able to accept a generous offer from Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., of a large quantity of deeds of various ages relating to property which he recently sold in East Cheshire. It would appear that the Council will need to consider a fresh and a still more comprehensive policy respecting the housing and cataloguing of such historical papers, documents and deeds as are now in their possession.

The experiments that have been made to provide the members of the Society with a social evening in the winter have been amply justified and the Council feel encouraged to include such a function in the programme of future sessions. Special thanks are due to Dr. Bridge for his particularly welcome contributions.

If the number of enquiries from Societies and individuals may serve as a criterion, interest in the history and antiquities of our old city is as strong as ever. Offers are numerous too, of articles of historical or antiquarian interest. Some offers cause the Council great embarrassment by reason of the very small accommodation that is now available for exhibits. This consideration has compelled the Council—sometimes most regretfully—to decline the offer of valuable articles which any ordinary Museum would be proud to accept. It is absurd to clamour for more space now, but the fact should nevertheless be noted. In the main, the Council is only able to accept acticles which have a definitely local association or significance.

The Society is gradually increasing in numbers, the attendance at lectures and other meetings is improving, and a quickened interest is apparent in all the Society's activities. The year under review has marked a steady advance, and the Council confidently appeals to all friends and students of

archæology in Chester and North Wales for such support as will enable the Society to be worthy of itself and to take advantage of its many fine possibilities.

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## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1922.

THE Council begs to submit its Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1922.

Sessional Meetings have been held, at which the following papers were read :—

*7th February*—Mr. F. Simpson, F.S.A.—
" Two old Timbered Buildings in Chester—The Crypt, Bridge Street, and the Royal Oak, Foregate Street " (lantern slides).

*21st February*—Mr. Donald Atkinson, M.A.—
" Samian Ware " (lantern slides).

*7th March*—Professor R. Newstead, F.R.S.—
" Roman Archæological Finds : Hunter Street and King's Buildings " (lantern slides, drawings, etc.)

*25th April*—Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, M.A.—
" Foundations for Secular Priests, with special reference to Bunbury and Ruthin Churches."

*7th November*—Mr. F. Simpson, F.S.A.—
" Chester Castle, A.D. 907-1922 " (lantern slides).

*21st November*—Professor Allen Mawer—
" Place Names and History."

*19th December*—Mr. H. J. Hewitt, M.A.—
" Communications and Transport in Mediæval Cheshire."

In addition to the above Sessional Meetings the following meetings and gatherings were held, and those who attended showed a great appreciation of the opportunities afforded :—

*24th January*—Annual Conversazione held in the Grosvenor Museum, including : (*a*) An address by Professor J. C. Bridge, M.A., Mus.Doc., F.S.A., with musical Illustrations, on " The early life of Dr. Charles Burney " ; (*b*)

a Note by Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A., on "Sephton Church, near Liverpool," with lantern slides; (*c*) Special Exhibits by Professor R. Newstead, F.R.S., Mr. C. H. Minshull, Mr. Henry Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. W. E. Brown, Mr. W. W. Tasker, Rev. F. G. Wright and others; (*d*) Exhibition of valuable Books and Manuscripts from the Earwaker MSS. Collection—described by Mr. E. C. Brown (Hon. Librarian) and Mr. J. H. E. Bennett; (*e*) the Collections in the Archæological Room, and (by the courtesy of the Chester Society of Natural Science, Literature and Art) the Natural History Museum (described by Mr. Alfred Newstead, F.E.S., the Curator).

21*st April*—A Joint Excursion with members of the Flintshire Historical Association to the Castles of Flint, Ewloe, and Hawarden. Papers and addresses were read by (*a*) Mr. Henry Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., Chairman of our Council (at Flint and Ewloe); (*b*) Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., Inspector of Ancient Monuments in North Wales, and Foreman in Charge of excavations and repairs to Flint Castle, under H.M. Office of Works (at Flint and Ewloe), and (*c*) Mr. W. Bell Jones (at Hawarden).

26*th April*—Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, M.A., conducted a large party round Chester Cathedral, and dealt with "Some points of interest in the Architecture of Chester Cathedral."

29*th July*—Excursion by Chars-a-bancs to the Vale of Clwyd. Visits were paid to (*a*) the Carmelite Friary, Denbigh, where the Rev. Canon Redfern, Vicar of Denbigh, read a short paper; (*b*) The Church of Whitchurch; (*c*) Llanrhaiadr Parish Church, which was described by the Vicar (Rev. J. Davies, M.A.); (*d*) Llanynys Parish Church, which was described by the Vicar (Rev. D. Williams, B.A.); (*e*) Ruthin Parish Church, which was described by Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, M.A., F.S.A., Headmaster of Ruthin School; (*f*) Llanfair Parish Church, for which historical notes had

been prepared by the Vicar (Rev. Basil M. Jones, M.A.);
(*g*) Llanrhydd Parish Church, which was described by Mr. Stanley Weyman and by Mr. Lovegrove.

The following representatives of the Society have been selected to serve upon the Chester Public Library Committee:—The Lord Bishop of Chester, Mr. Frank Simpson, F.S.A., and Mr. C. H. Minshull.

The Council desire once more to express their gratitude to the donors of various objects of interest during the year.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts annexed shows a balance in hand of £184 11s. 10d. It should be remarked that this balance does not represent the real financial condition of the Society, inasmuch as the cost of printing Part II of Volume XXIV of the Society's Journal does not appear on the debit side. The Council regrets the late appearance of this Part, which will represent the Society's output in the Journal for 1922, but is able to assure Members that it will be issued shortly. The allocation of Part I of Volume XXIV to 1921, and of Part II to 1922, necessitates the inclusion in Part II of the Report of the Council and the Statements of Accounts for 1921 and for 1922.

In January, 1922, Mr. G. W. Haswell resigned his position as Hon. Curator of the Society's Collections. The Council sent him a letter expressing their warm appreciation of his many valuable services. This report is written at a sufficiently late date to congratulate Mr. Haswell, and also Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, M.A., on their election as Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The Society is fortunate in securing Professor R. Newstead, F.R.S., to act as Hon. Curator in the place of Mr. G. W. Haswell.

The Reports of the Hon. Curator, Hon. Librarian and Hon. Secretary will be submitted to the General Meeting.

Under Rule 4 the following Members of the Council retire, but they are eligible for re-election:—Mr. J. Bairstow, J.P., F.C.S., F.I.S., Mr. W. Bell Jones, F.S.A., Mr. P. H. Lawson, A.R.I.B.A., and Mr. C. H. Minshull.

On the departure of Mr. F. Skipwith, J.P., from Chester, the Council succeeded in securing Mr. Alfred Ayrton as Hon. Auditor in his place. Mr. Walter Conway and Mr. Alfred Ayrton as Hon. Auditors now retire. They are eligible for re-election.

It gives the Council deep pleasure to be able to announce that owing to the generous attitude of the executors and family of the late Canon Morris, the MS. which he left on " The Siege of Chester " will be published in the Society's Journal, and will also be available for purchase by the public in the ordinary way.

Interest must have quickened in many quarters by the report of excavation in the Deanery Field. Mrs. Paget has already communicated a short statement to the Press by which it appears that Roman foundations and a stone-flagged footway have been discovered. Coins and *terra sigillata* cover nearly the whole period of the Roman occupation. Lying within an angle between two Roman walls, the site may yet yield results of a first-class importance. Professor Newstead is in charge of the actual excavation. Mrs. Paget has kindly promised that everything of the Roman period that is found will be offered to the Grosvenor Museum, and nothing will pass into private hands—also that the Society will receive a report as soon as any discovery is made which is of special interest.

The future development of the Society has been carefully considered by a strong Committee. A valuable report has been submitted for the consideration of the Council, who hope to adopt at least some of the recommendations in the near future. The great desideratum is a keener and more vivid interest in the old City and in the antiquities of Cheshire and North Wales on the part of our young people. The common effort of our Society with the Chester Society of Natural Science, Literature and Art, by which Mr. Alfred Newstead, F.E.S., gives lectures and instructions on behalf of both Societies will, it is hoped, tend to the attainment of this aim. In regard to Chester itself, the children of the city will in their turn become responsible for the care of treasures

and monuments and relics that could not be replaced or purchased for money. The Society welcomes every indication of warm interest on the part of teachers in the schools of the City. Some of them have for years utilised our historical wealth to the inspiration and edification of their pupils.

The Council would desire by all means in their power to give effect to practical suggestions emanating from the teachers, or indeed from any quarter, which would tend to kindle enthusiasm among the rising generation for the things which bind us together in this Society. It cannot be denied that the educational value of our Archæological Collections is considerably diminished by reason of the smallness of the room available in the Museum. The Council would venture to hope that in the near future the Corporation will see their way to extend the accommodation so that in particular the very valuable collection of Roman stones may be exhibited to better advantage.

The Council is happy to report steady progress throughout the year. Meetings have been more frequent, attendances have shown a decided improvement, and a stronger life is perceptible throughout the Society.

## EXCHANGES WITH KINDRED SOCIETIES.

The Society exchanges publications with the following :—

The Society of Antiquaries of London
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
The Cambrian Archæological Association
Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society
Buckinghamshire Archæological Society
Cambridge Antiquarian Society
East Riding Antiquarian Society
Essex Archæological Society
Flintshire Historical Association
Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society
Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society
Institute of Archæology, Liverpool
Montgomeryshire Archæological Society
Shropshire Archæological Society
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.A.
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society
Surrey Archæological Society
Sussex Archæological Society
Thoresby Society
Yorkshire Archæological Society

## THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

*Statement of Accounts from 1st January, 1922, to 31st December, 1922.*

### RECEIPTS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Balance in hand from last Account | 146 | 11 | 9 |
| „ Subscriptions—Arrears 8 18 6 | | | |
| For 1922 87 19 9 | | | |
| | 96 | 18 | 3 |
| „ Dividends on London, Midland & Scottish Railway Consolidated 4% Guaranteed Stock £297 | 8 | 9 | 2 |
| „ Interest on East Indian Railway 4½% Debenture Stock, 1935-55 £100 | 4 | 19 | 0 |
| „ Chester Corporation (Admission Fees for Year ended 25th March, 1922) | 20 | 2 | 1 |
| „ Donation from J. P. Rylands, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| „ Sale of Journals | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| „ Chester Corporation for Lectures (*see Contra*) | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| „ Profit on Excursions | 0 | 16 | 6 |
| | £286 | 7 | 0 |

### PAYMENTS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Fire Insurance | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| „ One Year's Rent to 25th Dec., 1922 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Subscriptions to Kindred Societies and Reports from same | 3 | 13 | 8 |
| „ Printing, Stationery, Postages and Transfer of Railway Stock | 24 | 7 | 2 |
| „ Purchase of Books, old Deeds, and Portrait of the late Mr. T. Harrison | 17 | 3 | 3 |
| „ Expenses of Lecturers | 4 | 12 | 7 |
| „ Mr. A. Newstead for Lectures (*see Contra*) | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| „ Miscellaneous Expenses | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| „ Balance in hand | 184 | 11 | 10 |
| | £286 | 7 | 0 |

*We have examined the foregoing Statement of Receipts and Payments with the Vouchers and find it correctly recorded.*

*(Signed)* WALTER CONWAY, F.C.A.,
ALFRED AYRTON,
} *Hon. Auditors.*

# LIST OF MEMBERS, 1923.

Acton, T. Arthur, F.S.A., 43, Regent Street, Wrexham
Aldersey, Hugh, J.P., Aldersey Hall, Chester
Ashbrook, Mrs., Wincham Hall, Lostock Gralam
Ashforth, G. E., 8, Ash Grove, Wrexham Road, Chester
Ashforth, Mrs. G. E., 8, Ash Grove, Wrexham Road, Chester
Ayrton, Alfred, Ashfield, Wrexham Road, Chester
Ayrton, Maxwell, 9, Church Row, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

Bairstow, John, F.C.S., J.P., Burley, Queen's Park, Chester
Barbour, Major Robert, Bolesworth Castle, Tattenhall, near Chester
Barnston, Sir Harry, J.P., M.P., Crewe Hill, Farndon
Baxter, Rev. A., Green Bank, Parkgate Road, Chester
Beazley, F. C., F.S.A., 46, Grosvenor Road, Birkenhead
Bennett, A. H., B.A., King's School, Chester
Bennett, F. L. M., The Deanery, Chester
Bennett, J. H. E., F.S.A., 66, Cambrian Crescent, Chester
Benson, E. F., 102, Oakley Street, Chelsea (*honorary member*)
Beswick, H., Newgate Street, Chester
Bithell, Walter, Bickley Wood, Malpas, Chester
Bonnalie, Col. F. J., 6, King's Buildings, Chester
Boscawen, Mrs. Lilian, Trevalyn Hall, Rossett, near Wrexham
Bridge, Prof. J. C., M.A., D.Mus., F.S.A., 11, Abbey Square, Chester
Brown, W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester
Brown, Mrs. W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester
Brown, H. F., LL.B., J.P., 18, Curzon Park, Chester
Brown, Mrs. L. P., M.A., J.P., 18, Curzon Park, Chester
Brown, Lieut-Col. W. Ernest, D.S.O., M.C., Brantwood, Dee Banks, [Chester

Chambers, The Very Rev. Canon, St. Werburgh's Presbytery, Chester
Chester, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of, Bishop's House, Chester
Chester, The Very Rev. The Dean of, The Deanery, Chester
Chester, The Right Worshipful The Mayor of, Town Hall, Chester
Chester, The Sheriff of, Town Hall, Chester
Chidley, T., 14, St. Werburgh Street, Chester

Clare, Thomas, 5, Highlands Road, Runcorn
Clarke, E. S., Llay Cottage, Gresford, Wrexham
Clarke, Major H. D., 4, Curzon Park, Chester
Clay, Miss B. E., B.A., Queen's School, Chester
Compton, T., Bolton Cottage, Longhope, Glos. (*honorary member*)
Conway, Walter, 18, Sunny Bank, Queen's Park, Chester
Cooke, J. H., Solicitor, Winsford
Cooke, Rev. F. H., Kingsley Vicarage, *via* Warrington
Cox, Ven. Archdeacon W. L. Paige, 5, Abbey Street, Chester
Crane, H. E., Savings Bank, Grosvenor Road, Chester
Crossley, F. H., F.S.A., 19, Shavington Avenue, Newton, Chester
Cullimore, John, J.P., The Friars, Chester
Cullimore, W., Copslea, Dee Banks, Chester

Davies, H. F., A.R.I.B.A., 32, Grange Road, Brook Lane, Chester
Davies, Fred, Architect, 14, Newgate Street, Chester
Davies, J. Gifford, Brook House, Main Street, Frodsham
Davies, Samuel, 6, Alvanley Terrace, Frodsham
Dempster, Robert, Vale Royal, Northwich
Dickinson, D., 16, Spring Gardens, Newton, Chester
Dickson, J. H., Westminster Park, Chester
Dodd, John, Corn Exchange Chambers, Chester
Dutton, A. E., 51, Frodsham Street, Chester
Dutton, Geo. Henry, 30, Frodsham Street, Chester
Dutton, H. B., 27, Curzon Park, Chester
Dutton, Hugh T., M.A., 27, Curzon Park, Chester

Eck, Canon H. V. S., 4, Abbey Square, Chester
Edwards, Peter, Dodleston, near Chester
Elphick, G. Pelham, Brook Lodge, Brook Lane, Chester
Evans, G. H., 5, Lumley Road, Chester

Farmer, R., 67, Liverpool Road, Chester
Farrall, Rev. L. M., M.A., Abbot's Grange, Chester
Ffoulkes, Rev. Canon P. J. B., The Deanery Cottage, Chester
Fleming, T. R., Rowton Grange, Chester
Fleming, Mrs., Rowton Grange, Chester
Frost, Sir J. M., J.P., Upton Lawn, Chester

Gaddum, H. E., The Priory, Bowdon
Gamon, Gilbert P., Daisymere, Fairfield, Buxton
Gamon, J. Percival, 2, White Friars, Chester
Gardner, E., Northgate Street, Chester
Giles, Miss Hilda M., 8, Abbey Square, Chester
Gladstone, H. N., J.P., Hawarden Castle, Chester
Golder, J. T., The Birches, Westminster Avenue, Chester
Grayson, Hastwell, Newton Green, Chester

Hanmer, Mrs., 15, Pepper Street, Chester.
Harding, Paxton, Bank House, White Friars, Chester
Haswell, Cyril W., "Highfield," Queen's Park, Chester
Haswell, Frank T., 4, Margravine Gardens, Barons Court, London, W.
Haswell, G. W., F.S.A., 52, Bouverie Street, Chester
Hewitt, Alderman D. L. Rose Acre, Hough Green, Chester
Hobday, W. E., 38, Liverpool Road, Chester
Holland, W., 10, St. John's Road, Queen's Park, Chester
Hughes, David, Solicitor, Old Bank Buildings, Chester
Hughes, J. T., 11, Abbey Street, Chester
Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street, Lancaster
Humphreys, W. H., M.A., LL.B., Old Bank Buildings, Chester
Hutchings, W. N., "Glan-yr-Afon," Mold

Illingworth, F.H., J.P., Hampton Lodge, 12, Liverpool Road, Chester
Ingham, Alfred, F.R.Hist.S., One Ash, Brooklands, Cheshire
Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., 56, Park Road South, Birkenhead
(*honorary member*)

Jackson, Geo. B., 20, Brook Lane, Chester
Jenner, H. A., 30, Lorne Street, Chester
Johnson, T. C., Eastgate Row, Chester
Jones, E. Peter, J.P., Greenbank, Eaton Road, Chester
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Jones, Henry, 96, Watergate Flags, Chester
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